ESSAYS
FOR THE
ERROURS
Of the
TIME.

VVherein the *Tenets* of the principall *Sects*, especially of the *Independents*, are drawn together in one Map, for the most part in the words of their own *Authours*, and their maine principles examined by the Touch-stone of

XUM

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FOR
The Right Honourable the Earle of *Lauderdaile* Lord *Metellane*.

YOur Lordship, I trust, will not bee displeased that your name is set before these Truths which your heart does love, and whereunto in the best companies of the whole Ile you have given at many occasions your chearfull countenance and zealous patrociny; in the study whereof I have been oft both encouraged and assisted by your Lordships pious, wise, and learned informations.

It has been of a long time the wish of my heart to have had nothing to do with Polemick writings; the bodies of souldiers are no more subject to wounds and manifold hardships, then the minds and names of disputant Divines do lie open to various vexations. The weary, starved, bleeding souldier longs no more for a safe peace, then a spirit harassed in the toylsome labyrinth of thorny debates, pants for that quietnesse which only the finall overthrow and full subjugation of errour can produce. How pleasant will that day be to the sonnes of peace, when the Lord shall make good that word which by the mouth of two of his ancient witnesses he has established, when according to the Testimony of *Isaiah*, syllabically repeated by *Michah*, we shall *beat our swords into plow-sheares, and our speares into pruning hooks, that we may walk together in the light of the Lord?* But so long as Divine Dispensation besets our habitations both spirituall and temporall, the Church no lesse then the State, with great numbers of daring and dangerous adversaries, we must be content, according to the call of the Prophet *Ioel* in another case, *to prepare warre, to beat our plow-shears into swords, and our pruning hooks into speares*; in this juncture of time the faint must take courage, *and the weak say I am strong*.

Isa. 2. Mich. 4.

Ioel 3.

It seems that yet for some time the servants of God must earnestly contend for many precious truths, which erroneous spirits do mightily impugne: for the help and encouragement of others in that warfare, I, though among the weakest of Christs souldiers, doe offer these my endeavours. It was my purpose to have made a farther progresse, and to have handled all I mention in my Preface; but being cald away from my present station by these who set me therein, upon the occasion your Lordship knowes, my studies in this kinde are broken off; so that this essay in *Brownisme* and *Independency* must go forth alone, or nothing at all.

My aym in these two is, and was in all the rest; First, in an historick way to set down the originall and progresse of the errour; next its compleat parts together in one table, that at one view the whole face of the way may be represented; for I conceived it many wayes advantageous and very satisfactory in debating either a truth or an error,

to be brought to see the fountain and originall whence it hath sprung, the streams and issues whither the Tenet tends of it selfe, or is drawn by its followers; to behold a way not in its pieces, but the whole together from the head to the feet, the begining, midst, and end without any concealment or disguise. Thirdly, my purpose was to have examined the principall parts of every errour in a short, cleare, and popular method, considering the maine Scriptures that use to be alledged in the point either *pro* or *contra*.

I beleeve this my method will not be displeasing to any. I know it was acceptable enough to many of the Congregationall way when lately I did use it against the Canterburian Faction; but possibly some of the matter of my historick part may fall out to be [illegible] to the followers of the Tenets which I labour to lay open; for it is impossible to make a true and a full narration of any erroneous way, but such things must be told which will be displeasing to some; yet I hope I have given as little offence in this kinde, as any other could have done in such a way of treatising; for all the passages that may be pungent of the tendereft skin, are such, as not only I conceive to bee very true, but such also which I ever make presently good by sufficient Testimonies set downe fully at the end of every Chapter in the expresse words of the Authors. Secondly, the opinions or practises I alledge, are such as the parties themselves to this day do openly avow, or else have beene objected to them by very honest men long ago in print, and to this day, so farre as I know, are not taken off by any tolerable answer; in all that is over and above, I will undertake to give ample satisfaction wherein-soever I give the least offence to any.

I dare appeale to your Lordships knowledge, and to many others who have beene acquainted with all my by-gone walking, how averse I have ever been from causing griefe to any, especially good men: so farre as I am conscious to my most secret intentions, it is my hearts desire that all our present controversies might quickly either be ended or composed by calme, meek, and peaceable meanes, and these alone.

That lately renewed Committee for Accommodation, Oh if it might please the Lord to shine upon it, however I may not stay to see its successe; yet wherever I am, my best wishes shall be poured upon it, especially when I shall heare, as I have great reason to beleeve is only intended, that it abides circumscribed within the bounds of that prudent Order whereby it is renewed.

For first, that Order is so farre from holding out an Accommodation for all the sects of the Land, that it speaks only of the differences that are among the members of the Assembly. Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration of all or any Religion is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhorre the very nameing of it. Whatever may be the opinion of *Io. Goodwin*, of Mr *Williams* and some of their stamp, yet Mr *Burrowes* in his late Irenicon upon many unanswerable arguments explodes that abomination. Likewise our Brethren who seek to be accommodate, will be willing I hope to professe their going along with us, without any considerable dissent, as in the Directory for all the parts of divine worship, so in the confession of Faith and Catechism.

Secondly, the Order expresses only the differences in Church-government; what other opinions wee have mentioned in the following Treatise, I hope our Brethren will either disavow and passe from them, or else be content to bury them in their owne breasts, till [illegible]me and better information make them die and vanish without more noyse.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the intent of the Order is to bring up the dissenting Brethren to approve of the Government agreed upon in the Assembly and allowed by both Houses of Parliament; or if that cannot be, to see how in some practises they may be forborn. This doth suppose that our Brethren shall not be permitted to print, preach, or publish any thing against the Government established by Parliament; also that in the practice of this Government they shall be obliged to joyne so farre with their Brethren as their principles may suffer. This being, I doubt not but in many things they shall be much forborn; for whatever be the unadvised rashnesse of some in their way, yet if they may be pleased, according to their frequent offers (as I remember) to be constant members of our Presbyteries and Synods, and there to give were it but their consultative voyce, I beleeve that few of them shall ever be pressed to much more; for if they agree among themselves, and governe well their owne Congregations, no controversie that concerns them will ever come before any superiour Assembly; and if any complaint of their male administration, or any matter of ordination or excommunication should come from them to be cognosced in a Presbytery or Synod, the result might ever be to them as a matter of advice to be executed in their own Congregations by their owne Pastors, if they did finde it right: or if it appeared wrong, the Generall Assemby, or at least the Parliament, would give them so much satisfaction, as on earth can be expected.

Albeit I am in opinion, that no case meerly Ecclesiasticall shall ever need to goe from a Generall Assembly to a Parliament; these two bodies are so friendly and neare of kin, that none who knowes their nature and constitution will ever feare their discord. I daresay, that all the jealousies which are presented to the Parliament of *England* of a Nationall Assembly, are meere Bugbeares and childish frightments, arising alone out of mis-information and unacquaintance; for both reason and experience will demonstrate that the Parliament of *England* cannot have on earth so strong pillars and pregnant supporters of all their Priviledges, as free Protestant Assemblies established by Law, and kept in their full freedom from the lowest to the highest, from the Congregationall Eldership to the Generall Synod of the Nation. No such Barres as these are imaginable either against Tyranny or Anarchy; they are the mightiest impediments both to the exorbitancy of Monarchs, which has been and is our misery; and to the extravagancy of the common multitude, attempting to correct and subject all Parliaments to their owne foolish desires, which is like to be the matter of our next exercise and trouble.

Protestant Assemblies examined to the bottom, will be found reall and cordiall friends to all the lust, Legall, and reasonable Prerogatives of a Monarch, to all the equitable and profitable Liberties of the meanest subject; but above all to every due priviledge of a Christian Parliament. Sometimes we laugh, sometimes we grieve to see men afraid out of meere ignorance with that which we know is their great good. I am perswaded that after a little experience, Coogregationall Sessions, Classicall Presbyteries, Provinciall Synods, and Nationall Assemblies will be embraced and stuck to by the Parliament of *England* as the greatest and most usefull priviledges of their great Charter.

My fourth remark upon the Order in hand is, that it speaks alone of the questions of Government, whereby the Assembly was retarded, but nothing of the constitution of Congregations which never came to any considerable debate, much lesse

did ever retard the Assemblies proceedings: and albeit the words of the Order might be extended beyond the Government to the constitution, yet wee may not thinke that the House doth intend to tolerate the gathering of separate Congregations; in this point we hope that the desired accommodation shall satisfie our Brethren, and all tolerations shall be needlesse. Themselves are witnesses of our most earnest Desires, of our very reall indeavours, (and we wish, they had been much more our helpers and reall Assistants) for purging of all Congregations, so far as ever they have been in any time, in any place, for making them so void of ignorance and all scandalls, as Scripture or any reason can require: In these our earnest requests we trust the *Parliament* at last will shew us favour. But when the Assembly and *Parliament* have done their uttermost, to have the Churches purified so farre as is possible, if notwithstanding of all that can be done, our Brethren will yet separate, and peremptorily refuse to communicate as Members, in the best ruled Congregations, either of *England*, or of any other reformed Church; wee confesse, that by such a Declaration, our Brethren would put us to a great deale of perplexity; for such a separation as this, were as we conceive, the most palpable and unreasonable Schisme that ever yet was heard of in the Christian World, much contrary to the word of God, and evidently destructive to the necessary peace of all these Churches wherein it should bee tolerated: beside its cleare contradiction in termes, not onely to the Order of the House, but to the solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes. Notwithstanding wee trust that the grace and mercy of God, shall be so richly powred out upon this revived *Committee*, as shall enable them to expedit both us and our Brethren from these otherwise unextricable Labyrinths.

Would to God that our Controversies with them were brought to a happy period, that both they and we, with all our power might concurre to reduce the rest of our poore Brethren, who this day are pitifully intangled in manifold heresies and Errours, that so all the children of God being delivered from the snares and chaines of darknesse, might make it their great taske and only contention, who should honour most the name of their Father, by the fragrancy of their godly, charitable, humble, chaste, and sober conversation.

Your Lordship is conscious to the first designes of the Noble Patriots of that your Nation, it was never their mind to have trifled so much time in jangling with their Brethren of this Isle, about new and needlesse questions, but expecting a facility of setling truth and Peace within these Seas, their hearts were farther abroad, their thoughts were large for the propagation not of ther owne but of Christs Kingdome, and that not so much in the Light as in the heat and life thereof. They have the more to answer who here and elsewhere have been the unhappy instruments, not only to frustrate these great and gracious enterprises for the Weale-publick of Christendome, but also to bring the undertakers to so low a condition, that they be obliged this day to God alone for any tollerable subsistence and their very being: albeit we are hopefull the Lord is reserving good things for them, who had so much Faith, charity, and Courage, as to venture all for the cause of God, and their Brethren; The more unkind men have proved unto them, the Lord who hath been witnesse to all their intentions, actions, and sufferings, will in his owne time accordingly reward them, and will not let them be ashamed of their first hopes and constant desires, upon the which himselfe for a long time did shine so evidently from the Heaven, as ever

upon

upon any enterprise on the Earth. Though now that brightnesse be much ecclipsed, and overclouded, yet we are expecting with passionate desires, and confident hopes, the dissolution of these clouds, and the dispelling of the present darknesse, by the strength of the Beames of his ancient and undeserved kindnesse, towards that now suffering and much distressed Nation.

But insensibly my pen hath runne beyond the bounds of a short Epistle, albeit my experience of your Lordships readinesse to dispence with your friends indiscretion, makes me secure of my pardon. I will detaine your Lordship no longer, I lay downe my Book at your Lordships feet, to be given to the world by your Lordships hand. If it be received with so much candor and charity by every Reader, as I know it is offered, it may possibly prove serviceable. Thus wishing to your Lordship in these dayes of deep and dangerous tryals, and too great defection of many, constancy, and daily encrease of affection to all Truth, Piety, Iustice, and every Vertue, I remaine,

London, Novemb. 19. 1645.

Your Lordships in all Christian duty to be commanded.

R. Baylie.

The Principall Authors, whose Testimonies are cited in the case of the *Brownists*.

1 *The Brownists confession of Faith printed by themselves.* 1602.
2 *The Brownists Apology printed.* 1604
3 Robert Brownes *Life, and manners of true Christians printed.* 1582.
4 Henry Barrow *his briefe discovery of the false Church.* 1590
5 Henry Barrow *his plaine refutation of Mr* Gifford, 1590.
6 Francis Iohnsons *enquiry and answer to* Thomas Whites *Discovery of* Brownisme, 1605
7 Francis Iohnsons *Christian plea*, 1617.
8 Iohn Cann *his guide to Sion*, 1638
9 Iohn Cann *his necessity of Separation.* 1638.
10 Apologia Iusta quorundam Christianorum, &c. per Iohannem Robinsonum. 1619
11 Robinsons *justification against* Bernard *reprinted at* London, 1640
12 *Syons royall prerogative*, 1641.
13 *A Light for the Ignorant.* 1638.

The Principall Authors whose Testimonies are cited in the case of the *Independents*.

1 *An Apologeticall Narration by* Thomas Goodwin, *&c.* 1643
2 Iohn Cottons *Keyes published by* Thom: Goodwin, *and* Philip Nye. 1644.
3 Iohn Cottons *way of the Churches in New-England.* 1645.
4 Iohn Cottons *Sermons upon the seven Vialls.* 1642.
5 Iohn Cottons *Catechisme, or the Doctrine of the Church.* 1644.
6 *An Answer to thirty two Questions, by the Elders of the Churches in New-England, published by Mr.* Peters. 1643.
7 *An Apology of the Churches in* New-England *for Church-Covenant, or a discourse touching Church-Covenant.* 1643.
8 *A glimpse of Syons glory in a Sermon at a generall Fast-day in* Holland, *by* T. G *printed at* London. 1641.
9 Ieremy Burrowes *Sermons upon Hosea.* 1644.
10 *The personall reigne of Christ by* Io: Archer, *Pastor of the Church at* Arnheim. 1643
11 Io: Archers *comfort for Beleevers.* 1645.
12 *Mr.* Burtons *vindication of the Independent Churches.* 1645.
13 Iohn Goodwins *Theo-machia.* 1644.
14 *A short story of the rise, reigne and ruine, &c. published with Mr.* Welds *large Preface.* 1644.
15 *Mr* Welds *answer to* Rathbans *narration.* 1644.
16 *Mr* Cottons *Letter to Mr.* Williams. 1643.
17 *The Anatomist anatomised by Mr* Simson. 1644.

We cite also for some matters of fact, to which no satisfactory Answer hath been made hitherto by the Parties.

1 *Mr* Edwards *Antapologie.* 1644.
2 *Mr* Williams *examination of* Cottons *Letter.* 1644.
3 *Mr* Williams *bloody Tenet.* 1644.
4 Plaine-dealing, *or Newes from* New-England *by* Thomas Lechford. 164[illegible].
5 *The* Anatomy *of Independency, by a Learned Minister of* Holland. 1644.
6 *Doctor* Bastwicks *Postscript.* 1645.
7 *Mr.* Prinns *fresh discovery.* 1645.

The CONTENTS of the following Treatise.

The Preface.

THe chiefe and first meane to extinguish the flames of our warre, is, the waters of our heart poured out in prayers to God, Page 1
Reformation after mourning, is the second step to a solid peace, 2
The corruption of the Church, is the fountaine of our present misery, ibid.
The State cannot be setled till the Church be first reformed, 3
Every man would help what he can to recover the languishing Church from her desperate disease, ibid.
The offer of a strange and easie remedy of a Looking-glasse, 4
The malignity of Errour, ibid.
The Authors intention is to set down in a Table for the clear view of all, the errours which trouble us, ibid.
And that with Justice and Love toward all persons, 5
The partition of the ensuing Treatise, 6
Episcopacy was the mother of all our present Sects, ibid.
Presbytery will be their grave, 7
The Presbyteriall way of proceeding, ibid.
What England *rationally may expect from* Presbyteries *and* Synods, 8

Chap. 1.

The originall and progresse of the Brownists.

Satan is the great enemy of the Churches Reformation, Page 9
His chiefe instruments alwayes have been professed friends to Religion, ibid.
Reformation at the beginning did run with one impetuous current, ibid.
What was its first stop, 10
The fountaine of Protestant discord, ibid.

The unhappy principle of the Lutherans, ibid.
And the more unhappy principle of the Anabaptists, 11
Somewhat of both these wayes was entertained in England, ibid.
The originall of the English Bishops *and* Ceremonies, ibid.
The originall of the Separatists, 12
Brownism *is a daughter of* Anabaptism, 13
Bolton *the first known Separatist in* England *hanged himself*, ibid.
Brown *the second leader of that way, recanted his schism, and to his death was a very scandalous person*, ibid.
The humour of Barrow *the third master of this Sect*, 14
The strange carriage of Iohnson *and* Ainsworth, *the next two leaders of the* Brownists, ibid.
The horrible wayes of Smith *their sixth master*, 15
The fearfull end of Smith *his wandrings*, 16
Robinson *the last grave and learned Doctor of the* Brownists, *did in the end undermine his party*, 17
Robinson *the authour of* Independency, ibid.

Chap. 2.
The Doctrine of the Brownists.

They hold that all Churches in the world, but their own, are so polluted, that they must be separate from, Page 20
Their injurious slanders of the Church of England, ibid.
Yet sometimes they say, that communion may be kept with her, both in preaching and prayer, ibid.
Their like dealing with all the other Reformed, 21
Their flattering of forraign Churches is not to be regarded, ibid.
The matter of a Church they make to be reall Saints only, 22
Their unreasonable strictnesse in this one point, is the great cause of their Schism, ibid.
They place the form of their Church in an expresse Covenant, 23
Seven may make a perfect Church, yea, two or three, ibid.
The erecting of a Church, requires neither the Magistrates nor Ministers assistance, ibid.
They put all Church power in a handfull of people, without any Pastor, 24
The Election, Ordination, Deposition and Excommunication of the Minister, belongs to his flock, and to it alone, ibid.

Every

Every man of the Congregation may preach, and publikely rebuke, not only the Pastor, but the whole flock, yea, and separate from it, 25
Some of them give the celebration of the Sacraments also to private persons, ibid.
The solemnizing of marriage they give to Parents, but Divorces they commit to the parties themselves, 26
They make every Congregation independent, and of Soveraigne Authority, ibid.
Their judgement of Synods, 27
Their high conceit of their own way, and injurious depressing of all others, ibid.
Churches, Bels, Tythes, Glebes, Manses, and all set maintenance of Ministers, are unlawfull; not so much as a Church-yard must be kept up for burial, but all must bury in the fields, ibid.
The dayes of the week, the months, the year of God, they will not name, 28
No Pulpits, no Sand-glasses in Churches, no Gowns, ibid.
All set prayer, even the Lords prayer, and all Psalms in metter, yea in prose, if used as praises, are unlawfull, 29
Their opinion of preaching and Sacraments, ibid.
Their strange way of celebrating the Lords Supper, ibid.
They reject Catechismes, the Apostles Creed, and all reading of Scripture without exposition, 30
After preaching they prophesy, ibid.
Then come their Questions, ibid.
After all, they attend a very tedious discipline, ibid.
Brown *is for liberty of Conscience,* ibid.
His followers are against it, 31
Their carriage towards the Magistrate, ibid.
They spoyle Kings and Parliaments of their Legislative power, ibid.
They oblige the Magistrate to kill all Idolaters, ibid.
But to spare all Theeves; 32
They will have the Universities destroyed, ibid.
Secular Authors and Learning must be abolished, ibid.
Preachers must study no other Books but the Bible, ibid.

Chap. 3.

The originall and progresse of the Independents, and of their carriage in *New-England*.

Independency *is the smallest of all the Sects of the time for number, but greatest for worth of its followers,* 53
Independents *are the* Separatists *off-spring,* ibid.
When the spark of Brownism *was dying out in* Holland, *a little of its ashes carried to* New-England, *broke out there into a lasting flame,* 54
By what meanes these ashes were kindled, ibid.
Mr Cotton *at first a great Opposite to that way,* 55
Mr Cotton *with little adoe, became the great Patron of that Errour,* ibid.
Mr Cotton *was the mis-leader of Mr* Goodwin *and others,* 56
Mr Cotten *often deceived, hath given his patrocimy to divers grosse errours,* ibid.
Why God permits great men to fall in evident errours, ibid.
His Prelaticall, Arminian, *and* Montanistick *tenets,* 57
His Antinomy *and* Familism, ibid.
Independency *full as unhappy as* Brownism, 58
Wherefore so much of the Independent *way lies yet in darkenesse,* 59
The fruits of Independency *in* New-England, ibid.
First, it hath put thousands of Christians in the condition of Pagans, ibid.
Secondly, it hath marred the conversion of Pagans to Christian Religion, 60
Thirdly, it did bring forth the foulest hereſies that ever yet were heard of in any Protestant Church, ibid.
A few examples of the many abominable hereſies of the New-English Independents, 61
The greatest part of their Churches were infected with these errours, ibid.
The piety of these Hereticks seemed to be singular, ibid.
Their malice against all who opposed them, was singular, especially against all their orthodox Ministers and Magistrates, 62
Their errours in opinion did draw on such seditious practises, as did well neare overturne both their Church and State; ibid.

Their

Their proud obstinacy against all admonitions, was marvellous, 63
In the midst of their profession of eminent Piety, the prefaneness of many of them was great, 64
Notwithstanding of all this we desire from our heart to honour, and imitate all and every degree of truth and Piety, which did ever appeare in any New-English *Christian,* 65

Chap. 4.

The carriage of the Independents in *Holland* at *Roterdam* and *Arheim,* Page 75

Independency *was no fruitfull tree in* Holland, ibid.
Mr Peters *the first planter thereof at* Roterdam, ibid.
Their Ministers, Mr Bridge, *Mr* Simpson, *and Mr* Ward, *renounced their* English *Ordination, and as meere private men took new Ordination from the people,* ibid.
They did quickly fall into shamefull divisions and subdivisions, 76
The people without any just cause deposed their Minister, ibid.
The Schismes at Roterdam *were more irreconcileable then those at* Amsterdam, 77
Anabaptism *is like to spoile that Church,* 78
These of Arnheim, *admire and praise themselves above all measure,* ibid.
The easinesse of their banishment and afflictions, 79
The new Light at Arnheim, *brok out in a number of strange errors,* ib.
First, grosse Chiliasme, ibid.
Secondly, the grossest blasphemy of the Libertines, *that God is the Author of the very sinfulnesse of sinne,* 80
Thirdly, the fancy of the Enthusiasts, *in contemplating God as God abstracted from Scripture, from Christ, from grace, and from all his attributes,* ibid.
Fourthly, the old Popish Ceremonies of extream Unction, *and the holy Kisse of peace,* 81
Fifthly, the discharging of the Psalms, and the appointing of a singing Prophet, to chant the Songs made by himself, in the silence of all others, ibid.
Sixthly, the mortality of the soule, ibid.
Seventhly, the conveniency for Ministers to preach covered, and celebrate the Sacraments uncovered: but for the people to heare uncovered,

uncovered, and to participate the Sacraments covered, 82
Their publike contentions were shamefull, ibid.

Chap. 5.

The carriage of the Independents at London, Page 90

The work of the prime Independents *of* New-England, Arnheim, *and* Roterdam, *these five years at* London, ibid.
They did hinder with all their power so long as they were able, the calling of the Assembly, ibid.
When it was called, they retarded its proceedings, 91
That the Churches of England *and* Ireland *lie so long in confusion, neither Papists, nor Prelates nor Malignants have been the cause,* ibid.
But the Independents *working according to their Principles,* 92
The great mischiefe of that Anarchy wherein they have kept the Churches of England, *and* Ireland, *for so long a time,* ibid.
Independency *is the mother of more Heresies and Schismes at* London, *then* Amsterdam *ever knew,* ibid.
Independency *at* London *doth not only bring forth, but nourish and patronize Heresies and Schismes, contrary to its custome either in* New-England *or* Amsterdam, 93
How hazardous it may prove to the State of England, 94

Chap. 6.

An Enumeration of the Common Tenets of the Independents, Page 101

Why it is hard to set down the Independents *Positions,* ibid.
They have declined to declare their Tenets, more then hath ever been the custome of any Orthodox Divines, ibid.
When they shall be pleased to declare themselves to the full, their principle of change will hinder them to assure us that any thing is their setled and firm Tenet wherein they will be constant, ibid.
The chiefe Tenets which hitherto they have given out, and not yet recalled, 102
They reject the name of Independents *unreasonably, and for their own disadvantage,* ibid.
When it is laid aside, the more infamous name of Brownists *and* Separatists *will inevitably fall upon them,* ibid.

They

They avow a Semi-Separation, *but a* Sesqui-Separation *will be proved upon them,* 103

The Independents *doe separate from all the Reformed Churches, upon far worse grounds then the* Brownists *were wont to separate of old,* ibid.

Their acknowledgement of the Reformed for true Churches, doth not diminish but increase their Schisme, ibid.

They refuse all Church Communion, and Membership in all the Reformed Churches, ibid.

They preach and pray in them as they would doe among Pagans; *only as gifted men to gather materials for their new Churches,* 104

About the matter of the Church, and qualification of Members, they are large as strict as the Brownists *admitting none but who convince the whole Congregation of their reall regeneration,* 105

Beside true grace, they require in the person to be admitted, a suableneſſe of Spirit with every other Member, 106

But in this they are laxer then the Brownists, *that they can take in without scruple,* Anabaptists, Antinomians *and others, who both in life and Doctrine have evident blots, if so they be zealous and serviceable for their way,* ibid.

About the forme of the Church (a Church Covenant) they are more punctuall then the Brownists, ibid.

They take the power of gathering and erecting of Churches both from Magistrates and Ministers, placing it only in the hands of a few private Christians who are willing to make among themselves a Church-Covenant, 107

This power of erecting themselves into a compleat and perfect church, they give to any seven persons, yea, to any three; neither admit they more into a Church then can altogether in one place commodiously administer the Sacraments and Discipline, ibid.

The Independents *will have all the standing Churches in* England *except them of the Sectaries dissolved, and all their Ministers to become meerely private men, and any three persons of their way to be a full Church.* 108

Unto this Church of seven persons, they give all and the whole Church power, and that Independently, ibid.

Unto this Congregationall Church *alone, they give the full power of*

of Election and Ordination, of Deposition and Excommunication, even of all their Officers, and of the finall determination of all Ecclesiasticall causes, 109

The difference of Iohnson *and* Ainsworth, *about the power of the people and Presbyterie distinct one from the other, is not yet composed among the* Independents, ibid.

The common Doctrine of New-England *is* Ainsworths *Tenet, that the people alone have all the power, and may Excommunicate when there is cause, all their Officers,* ibid.

Mr. Cotton *the other year did fall much from them and himselfe towards* Iohnson, *teaching that the whole power of Authority is only in the Officers, and the people have nothing but the power of Liberty to consurre; That the Officers can doe nothing without the people, nor the people any thing but by the Officers,* 110

Yet that both Officers and people or any of them, have power to separate themselves from all the rest when they finde cause, ibid.

The London Independents *give more power of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction then the* Brownists, *unto women,* 111

Some of them permit private men to celebrate the Sacraments, ibid.

Brownists *and* Independents *doe perfectly agree in the point of* Independency, ibid.

If a corrupt or negligent Congregation doe not censure their own Members, all the Assemblies in the world may not attempt to censure any of them, though must apparently they did corrupt a whole Nation with the grossest Heresies, or most scandalous vices, 112

The point of Independency *is either the root, or the fruit of many Errours,* ibid.

To temper the crudity thereof, they adde to it three moderatig Positions, but for little purpose, ibid.

They grant the being of Synods, *but not of Classicall Presbyteries,* 113

Their Synods are meerly Brownisticall without all Iurisdiction, wherein every one of the people may voyce; also they are meerely Elective and only occasionall, ibid.

The Sentence of Non-Communion is Mr. Cottons *invention, to supply*

supply that defect which themselves make in the Ordinances of of God, ibid.
It puts in the hand of every man a power to sentence all the Churches of the World, 114
It carries to the highest degree of Separation, ibid.
Their supply of the defects of Independency, *by the power of the Magistrate, was a remedy which they learned from the* Brownists; *but now they have cast it aside, denying to the Magistrate all power in matters of Religion,* 115
The Independents *doe advance their fancies, to as high a pitch of glory as the* Brownists, ibid.
They are the Brownists *Schollers in many more things, beside the constitution and government of the Church,* ibid.
They give to the Magistrate the Celebration of Marriage ibid.
Mr. Milton *permits any man to put away his wife upon his meere pleasure without any fault, and without the cognisance of any Judge,* 116
Mr. Gorting *teaches the wife to put away her Husband, if he will not follow her in any new Church way which she is pleased to embrace,* ibid.
They are against all determinations of the circumstances of Worship, and therefore all Church-Directories are against their stomacks, ibid.
The common names of the dayes of the week, of the months of the yeare, of the yeare of God, of many Churches and Cities of the Land, are as unlawfull to them as to the Brownists, ibid.
All Tythes and set-maintenance of Ministers they cry down, but a voluntary contribution for the maintenance of all their Officers they presse to a high proportion, with the evident prejudice of the poore, 117
In their solemn Worship, oft times they make one to pray, another to preach, a third to Prophesie, a fourth to direct the Psalme, and another to blesse the people, ibid.
They make it a divine Institution without any word of preface, to begin the publick Worship with solemn prayer for the King and Church, 118
After the Pastors Prayer, the Doctor reads and expounds, ibid.

In preaching, they will be free to take a Text or not, as they finde it expedient, ibid.
After the Sermon, any of the people whom they think able, are permitted to propheſie, ibid.
All are permitted to propound in the face of the Congregation, what queſtions upon the Sermon they think meet, ibid.
About the Pſalmes they have divers ſtrange conceits, but the ſpeciall is their new Ordinance of a ſinging Prophet, who in place of the Pſalmes ſingeth Hymmes of his own making in the midſt of the ſilent Congregation, ibid.
They grant the lawfulneſſe of read Prayers in divers caſes, 119
They will have none to be baptiſed but the children of their own Members; ſo at one daſh they put all England *except a very few of their way, into the ſtate of Pagans, turning them all out of the Chriſtian Church, denying to them Sacraments, Diſcipline, Church-Officers and all that they would deny to the Pagans of* America, ibid.
They open a doore to Anabaptiſm *by three further Poſitions. Firſt, they require in all to be baptiſed a reall holineſſe above a ſpeciall, which in no Infant with any certainty can be found,* ibid.
Secondly, they eſteeme none for their Baptiſme and Chriſtian education a Member of their Church, till they have entred themſelves in their Church Covenant, 120
Thirdly, they call none of their Members to any accompt before their Presbytery for obſtinate rejecting of Pædo-baptiſme, although the Brownists *doe Excommunicate for that ſinne,* ibid.
They participate with none of the Reformed Churches in the Lords Supper, yet they ſcruple not to communicate with Brownists *and* Anabaptiſts, ibid.
Their way of celebrating the Lords Supper, is more dead and comfortleſſe then anywhere elſe, 121
They have no catechiſing, no preparation, nor thanks-giving-Sermons; ordinarily they ſpeak no word of the Sacrament in their Sermons and prayers, either before or after, ibid.
They have onely a little diſcourſe, and ſhort prayer in the conſecration of both the Elements; thereafter, in the action nothing but dumb ſilence, no exhortation, no reading, no Pſalme, ibid.
They require none of their Members to come out of their Pewes

the Table, and they acknowledge no more use of a Table then the Brownists *at* Amsterdam, *which have none at all,* ibid.
They teach the expediency of covering the head at the Lords Table. 122
They are as much for the popular Government as the Brownists, ibid.
All Discipline must be executed in the presence and with the consent of the whole people, and all must passe by the expresse suffrage of every one, 123
Dissenters not only lose their right of Suffrage for the time, but are subjected to censure if they continue in their dissent, ibid.
They are much for private meetings for it is in them that they usually frame the Members of other mens Congregations into their new mould; but the Brownists, *and they of* New England *having felt the bitter fruits of such meetings, have relinquished if not discharged them,* ibid.
They flatter the Magistrate, and slander the Reformed Churches without cause, 124
Some of them are for the abolishing of all Magistracy, ibid.
All of them are for the casting out, and keeping out of the Christian Church all Princes; all Members of Parliament, all Magistrates of the Counties and Burrowes that now are, and that ever have been, and are ever like to be hereafter, except a very few, 125
These few Magistrates which they would admit, have no security but by the errour or malice of a few, to be quickly cast out of the Church without any possibility of remedy, ibid.
When they have put all who are not of their minde out of the places of Magistracy, yea, out of all Civill Courts; the greatest Magistrates they admit of, be they Kings or Parliaments, they subject them all to the free will of the promiscuous multitude, ibid.
When Magistrates will not follow their new errours, they have been very ready to make Insurrections to the great hazard of the whole State, 126
Many of them deny to the Magistrate any power at all in the matters of Religion, ibid.
Their principles doe spoile Princes and Parliaments of the whole Legislative

Legislative power; they abolish all humane Lawes that are made and hinder any more to be made. 127
The Civill Lawes which Mr Cotton *permits men to make, binde no man any further then his own minde is led by the reason of the Law to Obedience.* 128
They put the yoke of the Judiciall Law of Moses *on the neck of the Magistrate,* ibid.
They give to their Ministers a power to sit in Civill Courts, and to voyce in the election of the Magistrates, and to draw from Scripture Civill Lawes for the Government of the State, ibid.
They offer to perswade the Magistrate contradictory Principles according to their own interest; in New-England *they perswade the Magistrate to kill Idolaters and Hereticks; even whole Cities, men, women and children.* 129
But here they deny the Magistrate all power to lay the least restraint upon the grossest Idolaters, Apostates, *blasphemers, Seducers, or the greatest Enemies of Religion,* ibid.
No great appearance of their respect to secular Learning and Scholes, ibid.
Independency *much more dangerous then* Brownisme, ibid.

Chap. 7.

It is unjust scrupulosity to require satisfaction of the true grace of every Church-Member.

The Independents *prime Principles,* Page 154
Its unjust scrupulosity to require satisfactory assurance of the true grace of every Church-Member, 154
Their Tenet about the qualification of Members, is the great cause of their separating from all the Reformed Churches, though they doe dissemble it, 155
In this they goe beyond the Brownists, 156
The true state of the question, is, whether it be necessary to separate from a Church wherein we get no satisfaction of the true grace of every Member at their first admission? ibid.
For the negative, we reason first from the practice of Moses *and the Prophets, who did never offer to separate for any such reason,* 157
The causes of just separation were smaller under the Law nor under the Gospel, ibid.

Our

Our second reason is from the example of Christ and his Apostles, who did not separate for any such such causes, 158
The third reason, It is impossible to finde true grace in every member of any visible Church that ever was, or shall be in the world, 159
The fourth. This satisfaction in the true grace of all to be admitted, is builded on four errours, 160
The fifth Argument. Their Tenet is followed with divers absurdities, 161
Cottons *reasons to the contrary answered,* 163
The first reason put in forme, ibid.
All the parts of it are vitious, ibid.
His second Argument, 168
His third Argument, 169
His fourth Argument, 170
His fifth, 171
His sixth, 172
His seventh, ibid.
His eigth, 173
His ninth, all his nine or twelve Reasons put in one, will be too weak to beare up the weight of his most heavy conclusion.

Chap. 8.

Concerning the right of Propheſying.

The state of the Question, Page 174
The first Author of this Question, ibid.
The Independents *difference among themselves hereabout,* ibid.
That none but Ministers may ordinarily propheſie, we prove it first,
by Christs joyning together the power of Baptisme and the power of preaching, 175
Secondly, Those that preach, must be sent to that work, ibid.
Thirdly, every ordinary Preacher Labours in the word and Doctrine. 176
Fourthly, none out of Office, have the gift of preaching; for all that have that gift, are either Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, or Doctors; and all these are Officers. ibid.
Fifthly, no man out of Office might sacrifice, ibid.
Sixthly, all who have from God the gift of preaching, are called to

to lay aside all other occupations and attend that work alone, 177
Seventhly, the Apostles appointed none to preach but Elders, ibid.
Eigthly, the preaching of men out of office, is a meanes of confusion and errour, ibid.
The contrary arguments which Mr Cotton *in his Catechism and Answer to the 32 Questions borrows from* Robinson, *answered,* 178

Chap. 9.

Whether the power of Ecclesiastick Iurisdiction belongs to the people, or to the Presbytery?

What is meant by Ecclesiastick Iurisdiction, 181
The state of the Question, ibid.
For the Negative, that the people have no power of Iurisdiction, we reason, First, The Officers alone are Governours, and the people are to be governed, 183
Secondly, the people have not the Keyes of heaven to binde and loose, 184
Thirdly, the people are not the eyes and eares in Christs body, for so all the body should be eyes and eares, ibid.
Fourthly, the people have not any promise of gifts sufficient for government, ibid.
Fifthly, the popular government brings in confusion, making the feet above the head, 185
Sixthly, the people have not the power of Ordination, 186
Seventhly, this power in the people, would disable them in their Callings, 187
Eigthly, this power of the people would bring in Morellius *Democracy and Anarchy in the Church,* ibid.
Ninthly, this power of the people will draw upon them the power of the Word and Sacraments, 188
Mr Cottons *ten contrary arguments answered,* 189

Chap. 10.

Independency is contrary to Gods Word.

God is the Author of the union and dependency of particular Churches, 196
Separation and Independency were the Anabaptists *inventions,* ibid.

From

From them Morellius *and* Grotius *learned the Tenet*, p 197
The state of the Question cleared, ibid.
That single Congregations are not independent, is proved, First, from 1 Tim. 4. 14. 199
The second argument from the Apostolick Churches, which exercised full Iurisdiction; the chiefe whereof, if not all, were Presbyteriall and not Parochiall, 202
Our third argument from the subordination of the Church of Antioch *to the Synod at* Ierusalem, Acts 15. 205
Our fourth argument from the subordination of fewer to more, appointed by Christ, Matth. 8. 209
Our fifth argument from the evill consequents which reason and experience demonstrate to follow Independency necessarily and naturally, 212
Our last argument, Independency *is contrary to all the Discipline that ever was known in Christendome before the* Anabaptists, 215
The first objection or argument for Independency *from* Matth. 18. 216
The second objection is taken from the practise of the Corinthians *Excommunicating the incestuous man*, 218
The third objection from the example of the seven Churches of Asia. 220
Their fourth objection from the practise of the Church of Thessalonica *and* Colosse, ibid.
The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eigth objection, 223

Chap. 11.

The thousand yeares of Christ his visible Raign upon Earth, is against Scripture.

The Originall and progresse of Chiliasme, ibid.
The mind of the Independent Chiliasts, ibid.
Our first reason against the Chiliasts, *is, that Christ from his Ascention to the last Iudgement abides in Heaven*, 225
Our second reason is built on Christs sitting at the right hand of God till the day of Iudgement, 227
Our third reason is grounded on the Resurrection of the dead; the Godly

Godly and ungodly dead all rise together at the last day, 228
Our fourth reason is builded on Christs Kingdome, which is spirituall and not earthly, 229
Our fifth reason is taken from the nature of the Church, 230
A sixth reason from the secrecy of the time of Christs comming, 231
A seventh reason from the Heavenly and eternall reward of the Martyrs, 232
An eighth reason, the restoration of an Earthly Jerusalem *brings back the abolished figures of the Law,* 233
A ninth, Antichrist *is not abolisht at the day of Judgement,* ibid.
The Chiliasts *first reason is from* Revel. 20. 4. 234
Our new Chiliasts *are Inventors of a new Heaven and of a new Hell,* 236
Twelve other reasons of the Chiliasts *answered,* 237

THE PREFACE.

WHile the fire of War continues to scorch every one of these miserable Dominions, it is the duty of all compassionate Countrey-men to contribute the uttermost of their best endeavours for the extinguishing of these unhappy Flames, before the remainder of all our Churches and States be burnt down to ashes.

The first and chief Mean extinguish the flames of our Warre, is the waters of the heart poured out in prayer to God.

Too much Oyl already hath dropped from many unhallowed Pens; the times now do passionately call for Waters; and them, the more cold and clear, the better, for quenching the thirst of this devouring Beast. Vinegar and Gall, though in the largest measures, whole rivers of Blood will not allay, but augment the heat of a Civill Warre: The most hopefull Peace makers, from whose intermedling the greatest successe is to be expected, are they whose vessels are filled most plentifully with tears, to be poured out before the Throne of God.

The fire which this day prevails against us, which burns up not the flesh only, but the very bones of our Kingdoms, is from above: It is the Lord who *burns against Iacob like a flaming fire which devours round about.* When the scorching heat of the Sun drawes up the moisture from the grasse and corn, there is no remedy for the languishing fields, till the vapours ascend from below, and thicken in a cloud; then incontinent the burning beams are intercepted, the showres descend from above to refresh and renew the withered face of the parched ground. The most seasonable exercise of all who love the peace of *Jerusalem*, is to fill the aire with the exhalations of their spirits, with the perfumes arising from the kindled Incense of their Prayers; much of these holy vapours will hardly make up one cloud; wherefore many hearts would daily be breathing up together some store of that heavenly smoak. However for a time all our endeavours may seem to be quite evanished, and when we have gone out to behold much oftner then seven times, there may appear to our eye not so much as the smallest beginning of the least cloud; yet when the period of Gods appointed season is come, when *the three years and six moneths* are past over and gone, there will certainly arise a cloud, which, however at first very small, and no broader then a hand, yet will quickly become so big as to fill the heavens with voyces, and send down to

Lam. 2. 3.

the wearied earth such plenty of rain as could be wished.

Reformation after mourning, is the second step to a solid peace.

But to the end the waters of our Prayers may be the more acceptable in the sight of our *Prince of Peace*, who alone dispenses at his pleasure to persons and Nations that very desirable and much longed-for blessing of quietnesse, we must cleanse our hands of those crimes which have drawn down from the Throne of Justice that plague of Warre which so much this day doth vex and well-near undo us: If once *our wayes did please the Lord, he would* quickly *make our enemies to be at peace with us.* If *Israel did walk in his wayes, their enemies should soon be subdued*, and the hand of God so far turned against their *adversaries*, *that they should submit themselves* without further opposition. But what peace can be expected, so long as the Whoredom and Witchcraft, the Idolatry and Oppression of *Jezabel*, the crying Crimes of many in the Land, yet unrepented for, do offend the holy eye of the great Dispenser of Peace and War? A Reformation after mourning, is the second step to a solid Pacification. Long may we petition both God and men for peace in vain; long may we article and treat for that end without any successe, unlesse a reall Reformation remove from the sight of God the personall abominations, the State-transgressions, and the Church-impieties of our Land.

Pro. 16. 7. Psal. 81. 15.

2 King. 9. 22.

The corruption of the Church is the fountaine of our present Misery.

The Crimes of persons are grievous, but those of a State are more: The corruption of a member is not so grievous as of the whole Body; and the deformity of the Body Politicall, is not so unpleasant to the eye of God as of the Church: this is the Body, this is the Bride of Christ; nothing so much provokes the passion of a loving Husband, as the polluting of his Spouse. Church-grievances were the first and maine causes of our present Troubles, the righting of these, will open the door of our first hope of deliverance.

Who so will observe either the spring or progresse of our present Woes in all the three Kingdoms, will finde that the open Oppression and secret Undermining of the Common-wealth, by the craft and tyranny of the malignant Faction, did highly provoke the wrath of God, and was a great occasion of all this Discord which hath broke out among men; Yet it is evident, that the principall cause which hath kindled the Iealousie of God, and enflamed the spirits of men to shake off and break in pieces those Yokes of Civill slavery, which ingenuous necks were no more able to bear, was the consumpting of the Church, the bringing in

in upon her by violence, and daily multiplying of Errours, Superstitious, Idolatries, and other spirituall burthens.

The method of our cure, if ever it prove solid, must lead our Physitians to the fountaine of our Disease. All Treaties for accommodating State-differences, will be lost, if in the first place Religion be not provided for, according to the minde of God. If once the Temple were builded, and filled with the cloud, the Difficulties would be small in making up the breaches in the house of the Kingdom, and filling it with Peace and Prosperity. So long as the Temple lies desolate, it is not possible to rear up the wals of the City. It were the wisdome of our great Builders, when they finde themselves over-toyled in the fifth yeare of their *Work*, as they desire not to have all their by-past labours vain and fruitlesse, at last in good earnest to set upon the building of the Church.

The State can not be setled till the Church be first Reformed.

Interests of private persons and particular Factions, laid over with the colour of pretended State-reasons, may procrastinate dayes without number, setling of Religion: yet if we trust either ancient or late experience, these States-men provide best for the welfare of their Countrey, who give to the God of Heaven, to his Worship and House, the first and most high place in all their studies and cares.

If we behold either the first Former, or the latter Reformers of the State of *Israel*; if we consider the practise of *Moses*, of *David*, of *Hezekiah*, of *Zerubbabel*, and others, it is evident the *Tabernacle*, the *Ark*, the *Temple*, did first & most lie at all their hearts. Our Neighbours & Brethren of *Scotland*, when this our Disease was upon them, and did presse them well-near to death and ruine, by this method of Physick did in a short time regaine their full health and strength, in the which they had great appearance to have continued, without any Recidive, unlesse their pious compassion and brotherly attendance upon us in our languishing, had made them partakers of these evils in our company which they had clean escaped.

The lamentable neglect for so long a time of the Churches disease, makes now the Cure, if not desperate, yet much more difficult then once it was: so much the more had every good man need to bring forth the best of his wits, at least of his wishes, for the encouragement and assistance of our great Physicians, who now, blessed be God, with all their care, are busied, above all things else, about the recovery of that languishing Patient. The voyces of

Every man must help what he can to recover the languishing Church from her desperate disease.

XUM

some of her more faithfull servants crying aloud in the eare of all the world of their Mistris extreame danger, of her approach to the doors of death; this noise hath awakened and given an Alarm to many, that now they run with speed to recover the expiring breath of their dying Mother, not without some disdain and indignation against them by whose subtill artifices, and more then ordinary industry, they have been kept off all this while from so much as approaching the sick bed of the dangerously diseased Spouse of Christ.

The offer of a strange and easie remedy of a Looking-glasse

And now while so many gracious hands are about this noble Patient, every one out of their rich shops bringing the choycest Medicaments they can fall upon; I also, out of my poore store, rather from a desire to testifie affection then confidence of any skill in this Art, do offer unto her, as one meane of help, a Looking-glasse, wherein if she will be pleased but to behold the Symptomes of her Disease, by this inspection alone, and clear sight of her face in this Glasse, without any further trouble whether of Potions within, or Applications without, I am hopefull, through the blessing of the great Master of all lawfull Arts, she shall be able to shake off the principall of those evils which now do most afflict her.

That by the eye alone very noysome Diseases may be conveyed to the body, it is the ancient credulity of some. However, daily experience puts it out of all doubt, that through the glasse of the eye the soul may be infected with the desperate Diseases of most pestilent passions. But that which here is offered, is much more rare and singular, by looking in a Glasse to cure the worst Diseases, and to remove from the soul the most dangerous passions by meer contemplation.

The malignity of Errour.

To leave Metaphors, my meaning is, that the greatest hazard of our Church this day, comes from the evill of Errour. This, if the Apostle *Paul* may be trusted, doth *eat up* the soul no lesse then a *Gangrene* the body. This, if we will believe the Apostle *Peter*, is a *pernicious and damnable* evill, which *brings on sudden destruction*. It is a sinne before God no lesse abominable then those which brought fire on *Sodom*, the flood on the first World, the chains of darknesse upon the evil Angels.

2 Tim. 2. 17.
2 Pet. 2. 1, 2, 3, 4

The Authors intention is to set down in a Table for the clear view of all the Errors which trouble

At this instant, when the evill of Errour hath spread it self over the whole Body of this distracted Church, it seems it may prove a remedy not unprofitable to draw together the chiefe heads of

those

those errours which now are flying abroad; their faces being cleerly described in one short Table in their true lineaments and native colours, will appear so deformed, that many who now are bewitched with them, upon this sight, may be brought out of all further affection towards them.

This is the end of my present work, without the least intention, so farre as I can understand my own meaning, to create any just offence or reall hurt to any mans person. For, truly, I know not the creature breathing, to whom heartily I do not wish Grace, Mercy, and Peace; only the opinions which for a long time, with all licence, are blown by the Spirit of errour over all the Land, to the dishonour of God and the indangering of many a mans salvation, I wish were set out in their clear and lively shapes, that they may be seen, as truly they are, without any disguise, by the eyes of all; I am much deceived if their bare and unmasked face shall be found very pleasant to solid and intelligent minds.

And because it is a matter full of difficulty to set down the Tenets, especially erroneous, of any men, according to their own contentment, that herein I may do wrong to none, it shall be my care in every thing I conceive materiall and controverted, to speak nothing without book, but alwayes to bring along my warrant, to alledge nothing doubtful of any man, but what himself, or some other whose faith is above just exception, hath published before me to the world. And that with justice and love towards all persons.

If for all this, my testimony be refused, I can but declare, that knowingly I do not misreport either the words or the sence of any man; for, I esteem Truth so honourable and so beautifull a creature, but falshood so deformed and base, that no consideration (I know) would so far over balance my minde, as wittingly to make me entertain the one, with the prejudice of the other. Notwithstanding, if so it should fall out, which is very casuall to men, much my betters, that through inadvertence I should misapprehend, and accordingly misreport any mans judgement, upon the smallest conviction I purpose not only to retract my misconceptions, but, for further satisfaction, I promise to make my retractation no lesse publike then was my errour.

It is not my purpose to take notice of every extravagancy which hath dropped from all the distempered brains of the time; the profit of such a task would not countervail the Labour: onely I will put down, as it were in one Table, so many of these irre- Only for their regaining to the Truth.

gular conceits, which now are abroad, as may demonstrate to any common eye the undeniable footsteps of the Spirit of Errour and Schism walking among us, and bringing forth in great plenty the births of his darkneſſe, to the end that ſuch a multitude of Satans Brats, appearing openly in the arms and boſoms of otherwiſe (I ſuppoſe) well-meaning people, the beholders may tremble, and with all carefulneſſe avoid the deep deceipt of that Angel of Light; and the deceived themſelves ſeeing with their eyes what they hugge and dandle, to carry in the face the clear lineaments of a miſhant Parent, for grief and ſhame that they have been ſo long Nurſing-Fathers to Satans brood, may become the firſt to daſh the brains of theſe curſed Brats againſt the ſtones; or if they needs muſt obſtinately continue fond of that baſtard Generation, they may enjoy what they love, themſelves alone; all well-adviſed men ſtanding aloof from the danger of ſo miſordered and irrationall affection.

The partition of the enſuing Treatiſe.

The principall by-paths, wherein the moſt among us this day do tread, who divert from the high, open, and ſtraight way of the Reformed Churches, may be reduced to ten generall Heads: The *Browniſts* or rigid Separatiſts, are the firſt who break off at a ſide: The *Independents*, their children, go on with them for a time; but, wearied with the wideneſſe of their Parents wandring, profeſſe to come in againe towards the rode way, yet not ſo cloſely, but ſtill they keep a path of their own. How much nearer theſe men profeſſe to draw towards us then their Fathers, ſo much the farther their other Brethren run from us; for, the *Anabaptiſts* go beyond the *Browniſts* in wandring; the *Antinomians* are beyond the *Anabaptiſts*, and the *Seekers* beyond them all.

Theſe five leade aſide on our right hand: towards the left, there be no fewer crooked Lanes; The *Prelaticall* Faction; the downright *Papiſts*; the *Arminians*; the *Socinians*; and, who now make as much trouble as any, the *Eraſtian-Civilians*.

Of all theſe we will thus farre conſider, as firſt, in a brief hiſtorick Narration, to ſet down their originall and preſent condition; Secondly, to name their Tenents in particular; Thirdly, to refute from Scripture ſome of their moſt prevalent errours:

Epiſcopacy was the Mother of all our preſent Sects.

Only in the entry, one ſtumbling block would be put by. It is marvelled by many whence theſe new Monſters of Sects have ariſen: Some ſpare not, from this ground, liberally to blaſpheme the *Reformation* in hand, and to magnifie the *Biſhops* as if they had

kept

kept down; and this did set up, the Sects which now predominate. But, these murmurers would do well in their calm and sober times, to remember that none of the named Sects are births of one day; but all of them were bred and born under the wings of no other Dame then *Episcopacy*: the tyranny and superstition of this Step-mother, was the seed and spawn of *Brownisme*, the great root of the most of our Sects; all which were many years ago brought forth, how ever kept within doores so long as any Church-Discipline was on foot: Now, indeed, every Monster walks in the street without controlement, while all Ecclesiasticall Government is cast asleep; this too too long inter-reign and meer Anarchy hath invited every unclean creature to creep out of its cave, and shew in publick its [illegible]shapen face to all, who like to behold.

Presbytery wil be their grave.

But, if once the government of *Christ* were set up amongst us, as it is in the rest of the Reformed Churches, we know not what would impede it, by the sword of God alone, without any secular violence, to banish out of the Land these Spirits of errour: in all meeknesse, humility, and love, by the force of Truth convincing and satisfying the minds of the seduced.

Episcopall Courts were never fitted for the reclaiming of minds; their prisons, their fines, their pillories, their nose-slittings, their ear-cuttings, their cheek-burnings, did but hold down the flame to break out in season with the greater rage.

The Presbyteriall way of proceeding.

But, the Reformed *Presbytery* doth proceed in a spirituall Method evidently fitted for the gaining of hearts; they go on with the offending party with all respect, and at so much leasure as can be wished, appointing first the fittest *Pastors* and *Elders* in the bounds to confer and instruct him in private: if this diligence do not prevaile, then they convent him before the Consistory of his Congregation; there by admonitions, instructions, reproofs, and all the means appointed in the Gospel, they deal with him in all gentlenesse, from weeks to moneths, from moneths oftentimes to years, before they come neare to any censure; and if so it fall out that his insuperable obstinacy force them to draw out the terrible Sword, their proceeding here also is so exceeding leasurely, and full of sensible grief and love to the party, of fear and Religion towards God, that it is a singular rarity among them to see any heart so hard as not to be mollified, and yeeld before that stroke be given. Excommunications are so strange in all the Reformed Churches,

Churches, that in a whole Province, a man in all his life will scarce be witnesse to one, and among them who are cut off by that dreadfull Sword, very few doe fall in the States hand to be troubled with any civill inconvenience.

What *England* rationally may expect from Presbyteries and Synods.

By this kinde of Government, other Reformed Churches with ease have kept themselves pure and clean of all our Heresies and Schisms, not only *Scotland*, *Switzerland*, and divers parts of *Germany*, but *France* it selfe, which to this day was never blessed with any assistance from the secular Arm; by this spirituall and divine administe alone, have kept themselves safe from the irruption of all erroneous Spirits.

I confesse that *Holland* hath been a cage to these unclean birds; but the reason is evident, the civill State there walking in the corrupt principles of carnall Policy, which cannot be blessed with finall successe, doth impede the exercise of Church Discipline in its most principall parts; these last fourty years that Land hath not been permitted to enjoy more Generall Assemblies then one, and how great Service that one did towards the purging of the much corrupted Church, and calming the greatly disturbed State, all their Friends in *Europe* did see and congratulate, while their foes did grieve and envie it.

It is not prophecy, but a rationall prediction bottomed upon reason and multiplied experience; Let *England* once be countenanced by her Superiour powers, to enjoy the just and necessary Liberty of Consistories for Congregations, of Presbyteries for Counties, of Synods for larger Shires, and nationall Assemblies for the whole Land, as *Scotland* hath long possessed these by the unanimous consent of King and Parliament, without the least prejudice to the civill State, but to the evident and confessed benefit thereof; or as the very *Protestants* in *France*, by the concession of a Popish State, and King, have enjoyed all these four spirituall Courts the last fourscore yeares and above: Put these holy and divine Instruments in the hand of the Church of *England*, by the blessing of God thereupon, the sore and great evill of so many Heresies and Schisms, shall quickly be cured, which now not only troubles the Peace and welfare, but hazards the very subsistence both of Church and Kingdom; without this mean, the State will toil it self in vaine about the cure of such spirituall diseases.

CHAP.

Chap. 1.

The Original and Progresse of the Brownists.

THe greatest without comparison, and most admirable work which the hand of God hath brought to passe upon earth in these latter Ages, is, the Reformation of Religion from Antichristian pollution and tyranny: No other could have been expected from the Prince of Darkneſſe, but extream oppoſition to this ſo high a prejudice of his Kingdome: Incredible is the helpe which this unclean Spirit hath made to Antichriſt his chief ſervant, for the upholding of his tottering throne. How many Princes and States hath he ſtirred up to perſecute with fire and ſword, to the crueleſts deaths, the innocent Witneſſes of the truth? How many learned Divines hath he bewitched with his Enchantments, to ſpend their ſpirits and time in maintaining by Word and Writings the groſſeſt Abominations of that *Romiſh* Idol?

Satan is the great enimy of the Churches Reformation.

But the chief Artifice whereby this crafty Serpent hath moſt impeded the progreſſe of the Goſpell, and kept the Triple-Crown upon the Popes head, is his powerfull working in the midſt of the *children of Light*: So cunningly hath he inſinuated himſelfe into the counſels and actions not onely of the *children of this world*, but of the *Sons of Sion* themſelves, that by their hands, more then any other, he hath laid in the way of Chriſts running Chariot ſcandals inſuperable, impediments irremovable by any humane might, till the Lord from heaven put them out of the way.

His chiefe inſtruments alwayes have been profeſſed friends to Religion.

The light of the Goſpell broke out ſo clear, the heat of Zeal, the truly heroick and more then humane wiſdome and courage of the firſt Reformers, were ſo irreſiſtible, that all the power of Papal Princes, and all the learning of their Clergy, were not ſufficient

Reformation at the beginning did run with an impetuous current.

obstacles unto the torrent of their spirit; all these humane Bulwarks were overflowed with the flood of the gifts of Gods spirit in his Servants. The whole Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, *Denmark and Sweden*, *Ireland and Navar*, were subdued to the Scepter of Christ; much of *France* and *Pole*, the most of *Germany* both above and below, the most of *Hungary* and *Switzer* were pulled out of the Popes mouth; *Italy* and *Spain* were entred, and fair beginnings of a gracious day did appear to both.

What was its first ston.

But behold, in the midst of our Conquests and Triumphs, while all our enemies without were upon the point of fainting and despair, the *Dragon* and his angels got interesse in the heads of our friends, and by their hands drew us back from the pursuing of our foes, who were ready to have given over and submitted; but remarking our unexpected halt, and turning from them one upon another, they got a time to breathe, and to gather such strength, that ever since they have been the pursuers; and as long ago they have regained much of their losse, so doubtlesse, had it not been for the invincible strength of our *Captain*, before this day they had totally ruined us.

The fountaine of Protestant Discord.

To passe a number of stratagems whereby Satan hath diverted protestants from carrying on their work against the popish party, I touch but upon two, a double erroneus principle, wherby he hath infatuated many a thousand of men (otherwise not irrationall nor ungracious) and brought divers whole Churches to such perplexities and confusions, that they lie to this day entangled, unable to disengage themselves of those snares and fetters, that (as all piety and reason do command) they may joyne cordially their whole strength with their Brethren against the common enemy.

The unhappy Principle of the *Lutherans*.

In our flight from *Rome* hee got some perswaded to stand too soon, before they had past the Territories of the whore, and the Line of her Communication: Others he wrought to the contrary perswasion, he made them run on too long, not only to the utmost Line of Errour, but also far beyond all the bounds both of Charity and truth: Hence our greatest Woes, all our Discords and mutuall Wounds have sprung from these two Fountains: This is the true originall of our diversion from following the enemy, to attend the worst of wars, our civill and Domesticks combats.

By a very evill advice, *Luther* and his followers stuck at the latter parts of Reformation; they could not downe with the whole

Body;

Body; and in this their sensible infirmity, they became utterly impatient of all contradiction, That *Calvin* and his Brethren should go beyond them to cry down a corporall presence of *Christ* in the bread of the Sacrament, to remove Images from Churches, to put out of the worship a world of Idle Ceremonies, it was to them a matter of high disdain, and a Quarrell, which yet is not dead, but continueth transmitted from the Fathers to their children of this our generation. Who would not have thought that the rivers and Seats of *Germane* blood which this last Age have run in a good part out of this spring, might have been more then sufficient to have drowned all such Quarrels in a much more implacable Nation?

On the other hand, *Nicholas Stock*, and *Thomas Muncer*, with their intemperate zeal, ran themselves so far out of breath, that their followers to this day could never be content to be circumscribed within the bounds of any moderation: They and their posterity the *Anabaptists*, under the colour of extream promoting even to præcipitation, have been the greatest retarders of the work of Reformation; for beside their own falling off, and separating from all the Reformed party; yea their cruell invading by Fire and Sword, without any mercy, all their dissenting neighbours; their frantick extravagances became so terrible scandals to the remnant of Papists, that no one thing did so much tie their heart to *Rome*, and avert them from entertaining any good thoughts of that Religion which to them appeared the root whence so cursed branches had sprung up.

And the more unhappy principle of the *Anabaptists*.

Both those bitter roots were quickly transplanted from *Germany* to *England*, where hitherto they have brought forth exceeding ill fruits, albeit not altogether, so pernicious and plentifull as in that ground where the hand of the envious man at first did sow them.

Some what of both these wayes was entertained in *England*.

Cranmer, *Ridley*, and some others of the prime Confessors and Martyrs of *England*, receiving their first light from *Wittenberg*, and keeping still more correspondency with their acquaintance in higher *Germany*, then with *Calvin* or any of the *French* Divines, did follow the *Lutherane* Principle, howbeit not in the Doctrine wherein *Melanchton*, *Buser*, *Martyr*, and the rest of *Luthers* best disciples did at that time leave their Master; yet so much in the Discipline, Worship and Ceremonies, as that their great

The originall of the *English* Ceremonies & *Episcopacy*.

incogitancy hath cost *England* very dear to this day; for this was the chief spring of all the woefull divisions which since have rent out bowels, of al the grievous persecutions which have undone many, & vexed more of the godly, & banished far from their country some thousands of very precious soules; and at last, by the craft of some *Sinons*, this became the *Trojans* horse, to carry in its belly, & let down in the midst of our City and Temple, the whole Popery of *Rome*, and Tyranny of *Constantinople*, in a way of so deep policy and mighty strength, that onely the wisdome of God was able to discover, and when discovered, his arm alone was strong enough to break that snare.

Whosoever is unwilling to give to God this glory, we must say he is unacquainted with the counsels, and unattentive to the actions both of God and men, which these by-past years in this isle, upon a high Stage, have been acted, albeit sometimes within, and sometimes without the Curtain.

The original of the *Separatists*.

The other Root of *Anabaptisme* hath alwayes been sending up to us ungracious fruits, and at this hour is very instrumentall to our Woes. When *Cartwright*, *Hilderham*, *Travers*, and many other gracious Divines, by the blessing of God upon their great diligence had undermined and well-neer overthrown the Episcopall Seas, and all the Cathedrall Ceremonies; incontinent the generation of the *Separatists* did start up, and put such retardances in the way of that gracious Reformation, as yet remain, and, except by the hand of God, will not be gotten removed.

It is true the malignancy of the *Episcopall* party, and emulation of the *Separatists* themselves, would make *Cartwright* and his friends the Old Unconformists, to be the Fathers of that Sect; notwithstanding whoever is acquainted with the times, or will be at the pains, with any consideration, to confer the tenets of both parties, or who will advert the issue and sequell of both ways, cannot but pronounce *Cartwright* and all his followers the Unconformists, very free from the unhappinesse of Procreating this Bastard: That ill-fac'd child will father itself: the Lineaments of *Anabaptisme* are clear and distinct in the face of *Brownisme*.

The Doctrine of the *Anabaptists*, who in great number fled over to *England*, when for their abominable and horrible Crimes, by Fire, and Water, and Sword, they were chased out of both the *Germanies*, is so like, and in many things so much the same with the

the Doctrine of the *Brownists*, that the derivation of the one from the other seemes to be very rationall.

Nothing more like then that as *Marcellius* did learn from the Disciples of *Muncer* his Ecclesiastick Anarchy, whereby he troubled the Church of *France*, till by *Beza* and *Sadael*, in the general Assemblies of that Kingdome, he was confounded, and his *Anabaptistick* follies exploded; so that *Brown* and *Bolton* did learn in the same Schoole, that very ravery of *Marcellius*, and many other the like, by the which, about the same time, and ever since, they have pitifully vexed the Church of *England*. *Brownisme* is a daughter of *Anabaptisme*.

That *Brownisme* is a native branch of *Anabaptisme*, is also evidenced by the frequent transition of many from the one to the other. The dissolution of Ice, Snow, or any other vapour into Water, argues strongly for their originall from that Element. The ordinary running over of *Separatists* to the *Anabaptists*, demonstrates clearly enough who were their Fathers of old, and who their best beloved Brethren this day.

But passing the Kindred and pedigree, let us consider the Family it selfe, and the persons of greatest note that yet appeared therein. The first *Separatist* I read of, was one *Bolton*, a man by whom his followers can have small credit; For the finger of Gods Justice stirring in his conscience, made the sense of his Errours so grievous to his soul, that not onely he did publikely at *Pauls Cross* recant them, but thereafter was so dogged with a desperate Remorse, that he rested not, till by hanging of himselfe he had ended his miserable dayes. The truth of this story is confessed by the parties themselves: that *Bolton* was a Minister of an old separate Congregation before *Brown*: that he did recant his separation, and hang himself, *Robinson* the last Advocate for that party, doth liberally acknowledge in his Justification. p. 50. (a) *Bolton*, the first known *Separatist in England*, hanged himself.

The horror of this remarkable Vengeance did not deter *Robert Brown*, first a Schoolemaster in *Southwarke*, and then a Preacher at *Islington* neer *London*, to take up that banner of separation, which God, as with a bolt from Heaven, had wrung out of the hands of miserable *Bolton*; albeit that cause did thrive no better with him then with his predecessor. *Brown*, the second Leader of that way, recanted his Schism, and his death was a very scandalous person.

When this rash young man, for old hee could not be, in the 1580 yeare of God, when hee was the prime Leader of that Sect, having but lately dyed: when he, I say, had gathered a sepa-

state Congregation, and drawn up for the defence of his Way these Writings, whence ever since the best Arguments for that Schism are drawn; (B) they went over to enjoy their liberty to *Middleburgh* of *Zeland*: But behold the wrath of God following them at the heels; when there was no disturbance from without, they fell to such jarring among themseves, that soon they broke all to peeces; the most turned *Anabaptists*, *Brown* himselfe returned to *England*, recanted his *Brownisme*, received a Parsonage at the hand of a Bishop: The course of his life, to his deepe old age, was so extreamly scandalous, that more then ordinary charity is needfull to perswade that ever he was led with a good spirit. I have heard it from Reverend Ministers, that he was a common beater of his poor old Wife, and would not stick to defend publikely this his wicked practice; also, that he was an open profaner of the Sabbath; and that his injustice, in not paying the small pittance he was indebted to him whom lazinesse in his Calling made him to keep for the supply of the cure of his Parsonage, did bring him to prison, in the which, for that very cause, he continued till death.

When the wickednesse of this man is objected to *Robinson* his Scholar, he is so far from deniall, that under his hand he testifieth it abundantly. (C)

The humour of *Barrow* the third Master of this Sect.

The third Master of this Sect was *Barrow*, the most bitter and clamorous Censurer of all the Reformed Churches of any that yet hath put pen to paper, chuse whom you will of the most despitefull Iesuites: let their books which are most besprinkled with Gall, be compared with *Barrowes Discovery*, this to my tast is nothing sweeter then the bittereſt of them all: And yet there is small reason why with so great arrogancy he should have taken in his hand the Censors rod, if all be true of him which his opposites object. However, before he could gather any formed Congregation, his invectives against the Faith, Baptism and Laws of *England* were so excessive, that Queen *Elizabeth*, impatient of his Contumelies, by the evill advice of the cruell Prelates about her, caused him on a morning to be hanged on the Tower-hill.

The strange carriage of *Johnson* and *Ainsworth*, the next two Leaders of the *Brownists*.

The Fourth Leader of this Way was Master *Iohnson*, who afraid at *Barrows* execution; got over, with the Church he had gathered, to *Amsterdam*, and there for many years was Pastor to the first setled Congregation of *Brownists* we read of.

This

This man, with *Ainsworth* his Doctor, sent out to all the Reformed Churches the confession of their Faith in the year 1602. But long it was not till it appeared to the world that no better spirit did reign in that company then in the former societies of this way.

For incontinent three shamefull Schisms one upon the neck of another, broke out among them: First, many of them turned *Anabaptists*, and were excommunicated. Secondly, Master *Iohnson* fell to so great oddes, first with his Brother, Master *George*, for small matters, and afterward with his Father, that he excommunicated them both, and was curſed by both, when he had rejected peremptorily the mediation of the *Presbytery* of *Amsterdam* for reconciliation. Thirdly, the remnant of the company, a little after sent in two, upon needlesse Questions: Master *Ainsworth* the Doctor with his half, did excommunicate *Iohnson* and his halfe, who were not long behind, for they also did quickly excommunicate *Ainsworth* and all his followers.

Hereupon the war betwixt these two handfuls of people became so sharp, that *Amsterdam* could not keep them both; For *Iohnson*, with his side of the house, got away to *Emden*, where, after his death, that little Company, as I suppose, dissolved and vanished. *Ainsworth* went over to *Ireland*, where ever since some of his disciples have lived, but himself returning quickly to *Amsterdam*, his company, after his death, remained long without all Officers, very like to have dissolved; yet at last, after much strife, they did chuse Mr. *Cam* for their pastor, but could not agree, till very lately, upon any other officer, & even yet they live without an Eldership, as they did before without a pastor. The most of these things are the confessions of the party, (*D*) the rest are notorious, and will not not be denyed.

The weight and evidence of Gods hand against *Iohnson* and *Ainsworth* had so far disgraced that Sect, that in the opinion of the most, no man would ever more look after it: Yet two other Divines of very good parts, did set under their shoulders to support it for some longer time; but so, that in the end they did undermine and undoe it though in a contrary way.

The horrible wayes of *Smith* their sixth Master.

Master *Smith* (a man as I have heard of right eminent parts) falling to that side, and writing against the use of the Lords prayer, was convinced in a publick meeting by Master *Hinderham*, and others, (for the Unconformists all wayes had the one eye no

lesse

ieſſe intent upon the *Separatiſts*, then the other upon *Epiſcopacy*) notwithſtanding Maſter *Smith* (for all his conviction, and open profeſſion upon his knees of his full ſatisfaction) did relapſe, and by his perſwaſion, moved a great company to follow him out of *England* to *Ley* in *Holland*.

There he perſevered not long in concord with his *Elder* Brethren of the Separation, but quickly accuſed them all of Idolatry in their worſhip, for looking upon their Bibles in the time of preaching, and on their Pſalters in the time of ſinging; (*E*) and of Antichriſtianiſme in their Government; becauſe in their Presbytery they joyned to Paſtors, other two Officers, Doctors and ruling Elders, which to him were humane inventions.

Neither here did the Spirit of Errour permit him long to ſtand; But as in the Preface of his Booke of difference from the old *Separatiſts*, hee profeſſeth a reſolution of inconſtancy: (*F*) So accordingly he did practiſe, falling from *Browniſme* to *Anabaptiſme*. And as ordinary *Browniſme*, when he was a *Browniſt*, did not pleaſe his taſte, without his own refinings; ſo turning *Anabaptiſt*, the common ſorts of that way did not pleaſe him; (though of the *Anabaptiſts* there be more kindes then of any other ſect this day extant) yet by none of them all, would his conſcience permit him to be Rebaptized; but he muſt needs Rebaptize himſelfe, and ſo draw on the juſt infamy of a *Sebaptiſt*. (*G*)

The fearfull end of *Smith* his wandrings.

For a recompence of this wantonneſſe in erring, behold how the juſt Lord permitted Satan to lead him, yet one ſtep further: It is not onely a common report, but I have heard it from the graveſt and moſt approved Divines of the Kingdome, that upon his death-bed he became a Preacher of his own perfect righteouſneſſe, if not a profeſſed *Arrian*.

A remarkable vengeance upon an erring ſpirit.

An example full of horrour, which God hath ſet forth, if men will be ſo wiſe as to be diſciplined in the perſons of others, to bridle the petulant wits of this age, who make it, if not their paſtime, yet their exerciſe and glory to impugn by their Sophiſms, the ſetled tenents and practices of all Chriſtians before them. Maſter *Smiths* progreſſe and end ought to circumſcribe their luxuriant ſpirits within the circle of ſome moderation, leaſt all the glory of their new inventions be crown'd with ſomeſhamefull concluſion. When the infamous practices of Mr. *Smith* are objected to his party, they have no leaf of excuſe wherewith to cover them. (*H*)

the

The other supporter of languishing *Brownisme*, in its dying dayes was Master *Robinson*, the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that Sect enjoyed: it had been truly a marvell if such a man had gone on to the end a rigid Separatist?

This man having gone over from *England* to *Leyden*, with a separate Congregation, did write for a time very handsome Apologies and justifications of that evill way; but, Doctor *Ames* and Master *Parker* compassionating the man, and pitying that so excellent parts should be so ill employed, laboured him so by Conferences and Letters, that there was great appearance, if his dayes had continued, he might have proved a happy instrument for the extinguishing and totall abolition of that Schism: but God in his wisdom intending some farther use of that great evill, was pleased to take him away in the beginning of his good Work.

Robinson the last grave and learned Doctor of the *Brownists*, did in the end undermine his party.

He came back indeed the one halfe of the way; he ruined the rigid Separation, and was the Author of a Semi-separatism, printing in his later times against his former Books, the lawfulnesse of communicating with the Church of *England* in the Word and Prayer, albeit not in the Sacraments and Discipline: This was a fair Bridge, at least a fair Arch of a Bridge for union; but the man being removed by death before he could perfect what he had begun, his new Doctrine, though it was destructive to his old Sect, yet it became an occasion of a new one not very good.

It was the womb and seed of that lamentable *Independency* which in *Old* and *New England* hath been the fountain of many evils already, though no more should ensue, as anon shall be declared: Only here we observe, that the last two best-gifted Leaders of the *Brownists*, have been the reall Overthrowers of that way: for ever since the time of their conduct, these of *England* whose humour carried them out of the bosome of their Mother-Church, have turned either to *Smiths* Anabaptism, or to *Robinsons* Semi-separating Independency. These kinds are multiplyed exceedingly; but for the old *Brownists*, their number either at *London* or *Amsterdam* is but very small; and their way is become contemptible, not only to all the rest of the world, but to their own children also; even they begin to heap coals of contumelies upon their Parents heads, as may be seen in the Elogies which both Mr *Cotton* (I) and the five Apologists are pleased to give them in print: (K) Yea, so much are these Children ashamed of their Fathers, that they

Robinson the author of *Independency*.

usually take it foss commonly to be called after their name. No *Independent* will take it well at any mans hand, to be called a *Brownist*, either in whole, or in the smallest part.

The Testimonies.

(A) Robinsons Justification, p. 50. *It is true that* Bolton *was (though he were the first in this way) an Elder of a separate Church in the beginning of Queen* Elizabeths *dayes; and falling away from his holy profession, recanted the same at* Pauls Crosse, *and afterwards hanged himself, as* Judas *did.*

(B) *Gifford against the Donatists, about the beginning. Whosoever shall read* Brown *his Books, and peruse all his Scholars writings, shall see that they have no sharp arrow but which is drawn out of his Quiver.*

(C) Robinsons Iustif. p. 50. *Now touching* Brown, *it is true, as he forsook the Lord, so the Lord forsook him, else he had never so returned back into* Egypt, *as he did: And for the wicked things which Master B. affirmeth he did in this way, it may well be as he saith; and the more wicked things he committed in this course, the lesse like he was to continue long in it.*

(D) Johnsons Enquiry, p. 63. *About thirteen yeares since, this Church, through persecution in* England, *was driven to come into these Countries. A while after, divers of them fell into the Heresie of the Anabaptists; and so perishing, were excommunicated by the rest. Then a while after many others, into the same, though not the selfe, fell into a Schisme from the rest; and so many as continued therein, were cast out. Also,* Robinsons Iustification, p. 51. *True it is, that* George Johnson, *together with his Father, taking his part, were excommunicated by the Church for contention arising at the first upon no great occasion; whereupon many bitter and reprochfull termes were uttered both in word and writing. It is matter just cause of Humiliation all the dayes of our lives, that we have given, and do give, by our differences, such advantages.*

(E) Smiths Differences, p. 4. *The reading one of a Book, is no part of spirituall worship, but the invention of the Man of Sinne. Books and Writings are in the nature of Pictures and Images, and therefore in the nature of Ceremonies, and so by consequent the reading of a Book is Ceremoniall; The holy Scriptures are not to be retained*

&c.

as helps before the eyes in the time of Spirituall Worship: It is unlawfull to have the Book before the eyes in singing of Psalms. The Presbytery of the Church is uniform: the threeformed Presbytery consisting of three kinds, Pastors, Teachers, and Elders, is not Gods Ordinance, but Antichristian, and the image of the Beast.

(F) *Bernards* plain Evidences, p.19. *Smith in his Epistle before his Differences, because he is found so inconstant, to wipe away the shame thereof, and to cut off offence for afterward; he without shame professeth his inconstancy, and desireth that ever his last writing should be taken as his present judgement.*

(G) Ibid. *He hath founded a new Church; he hath, if ye will believe him, recovered the true Baptism, and the true matter and form of a true Church, which now only is to be found pure among a company of* Sebaptists. *Master* Smith *will hold ever this word* Se *to himself, for going into* Brownism; *he was a Separatist, he held differing opinions from them; and now that he is in Anabaptism, he is a* Sebaptist, *he wholly goeth not with that hereticall Sect.*

(H) *Robinsons* Justif. p.53. *Master* Smith *his instability, and wantonnesse of wit, is his sin, and our crosse.*

(I) Vide caput tertium *O*.

(K) Ibidem.

Chap.

CHAP. II.

The Doctrine of the BROWNISTS.

THE peculiar Tenets of the *Brownists* wherein they differ from other *Protestants*, are many: Those that occurre to my minde from some slight and cursory reading of some of their Books, shall briefly and plainly be set down; but with this premonition, That every thing mentioned, be not taken for an Article of *Brownisme*; for it is needfull at some times to interlace Tenents which are common to them with others, for the clearing of those which they have peculiar.

Their differences run most upon the Constitution and Government of the Church: They have also divers Singularities about the Circumstances and Parts of the Service of God; also concerning the Magistrate, and Schools, and divers other things. Without affectation, or curious search of Method, we shall propound matters as they come to hand.

They hold that all Churches in the world but their own, are so polluted, that they must be separate from.

Concerning the Constitution of the Church, consider their judgement, first, what they think of others, then what of themselves. All other Churches they condemn, so farre, as to professe and practise a Separation from them. The edge of their Arguments, is usually directed against the Church of *England* alone; but when their Doctrine or Practise is looked upon a little more neer, it appears they shoot their Bolts at all other Churches in the world which refuse their Way.

Their injurious slanders of the Church of *England*.

For the Church of *England*, they say it ought not to be called a Church; or at best that it is a false and Antichristian Church, out of the which every one (though not persecuted) must flee, as they would avoid damnation. (*A*)

Yet sometimes they say that communion may be kept therewith both in preaching and prayer.

Sometimes, in their calm mood, they will give better words, and acknowledge it to be a true Church, That the Doctrine and Sacraments thereof are true, That many thousands of its members are gracious and elect people (*B*)

But their ordinary language is of another strain, to wit, That the Church of *England* is a meer Harlot, divorced from Christ. (*C*) That the Worship thereof is grosse Idolatry, and the Service of the

the Devil, (D) That all the members thereof are unclean beasts, and the limbs of Antichrist, (E) That her best Preachers that preach most for Reformation, are but Pharisees and Deceivers, (F) That the Faith, Grace and Comfort which by their Ministery they seem to bring to the hearts of the hearers, is but meer delusion, (G) That their Sacraments are Seals, not of Grace, but of the wrath of God, (H) That all Communion with her, even in the Word and Prayer, is to be forsaken. (I)

The Unconformists did alwayes zealously plead against the Corruptions of that Church, but never against the truth of her being, or the comfort of her Communion: When by the force of persecution they were driven out, then they did flee; Of their own accord they did never separate, but were ever most glad to live and die in her bosome, willing to partake of her Worship and Sacraments, when ever they were permitted to dissent in Doctrine, and to abstain in practice, from those things which they conceived to be corruptions. (K)

Their like dealing with all the other reformed.

Concerning other Reformed Churches, though free both of Liturgies and Bishops, and many other of the English stumbling-blocks, notwithstanding all their Reformation, yet they pronounce their Worship to be idolatrous, (L) their Government tyrannous and Antichristian, (M) yea, their very Constitution both in matter and form to be so vitious, (N) that with a good conscience they cannot communicate with any of them, (O) that the Reformed *Presbyteries* and *Synods* are no better then the *English Episcopacy*; (P) yea, to *Episcopacy* they are so favourable, that they professe their willingnesse to acknowledge all their Civill Power, and much of their Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction; (Q 1.) that the *Presbyterian* Divines have ever been as evil as *Episcopall*; (Q 2.) that the vitious constitution and government of the most Reformed Churches in *Europe*, hath flowed from the ignorance and obstinasy of unhappy *Calvin* (R 1.)

Their flattering of forain Churches, is not to be credited.

We must not be deceived with their pleasant words, when they make fair professions of their hearty agreement in so many things with the other Reformed Churches, and of their willingnesse to communicate with them both in Word and Sacraments. (R 2) These flatteries are contradictory both to their Doctrine and Practice; for when they had left *England*, they were so farre from joyning with any of the Reformed, that they never erected new

Churches after their own way, and made it an open and avowed cause of Excommunication for any of their Members to communicate with the Churches of *Holland*, among whom they did live; (R 3) also the crimes of the Church of *Holland*, which they cry out upon, are such which none of the Reformed Divines do condemn. (S)

On the other side, the *Nonconformists* whom the *Episcopall* persecution did banish out of *England*, were ever well content without erecting of a new Church, to joyn themselves as Members to any of the forain Churches, *Scottish*, *Dutch*, or *French*, according as they understood their Language, or had occasion of abode among them.

The matter of a Church they make to be all Saints only.

Thus they doe judge of others. As for the form of that Tabernacle which they professe to build for themselves, thus we may conceive it: The matter or members of their Church, they avow to be Saints; but the Members of other Churches, they pronounce them for the most part to be wicked and flagitious. (T)

Their unreasonable strictnesse in this one point, is the great cause of their schism.

The *Nonconformists* with all the reformed, are willing to admit of no others to the Lords Table but these who are Saints by calling, in whom they require three qualifications: First, That they have a good measure of Knowledge, and professe to believe the truth. Secondly, That in their life and conversation, they be without scandall. Thirdly, That they be submissive to the Discipline of the Church: But the *Brownists* presse a fourth qualification; Were a mans profession never so faire, and his knowledge never so great: In all parts of Doctrine, let him be most Orthodox, and in his Conversation most harmlesse, and inoffensive; were he never so willing to joyn in all the Ordinances of God, and to be governed according to the strictest Discipline of Christ; notwithstanding all this, they count him not qualified to be a Church Member, except he declare publikely in the face of the Congregation, such clear and certaine signs of his reall Sanctification, and true Regeneration, as gives full satisfaction, not only to the Minister and Elders, and many of the people, but to all and every one, or at least, the major part of the Church. (V)

If any prophane person should be admitted, he should quickly so farre pollute the whole Church, that every Member thereof must needs become partaker of his sinnes; (X) And if upon admonition they did not Excommunicate him, they themselves ought

to

to bee separated from, as an infected and leprous Society. (Y)

They tell us yet more, that not only the prophaneſſe of one person doth pollute the whole Church, but any one ſin or errour of any one Member, though godly and Regenerate, if after admonition he continue therein, and be not Excommunicate, doth ſo defile the whole, that it muſt be ſeparated from. (Z) To diſtinguiſh here betwixt ſins greater and leſſer, to make ſome errours Fundamentall, and ſome lesser-fundamentall, it is to them a following of the Papiſts in their abſurd diſtinction of mortall and veniall ſins; the leaſt Error joyned with obſtinacy, to them is an Hereſie and a juſt cauſe of Separation. (AA)

The leaſt ſin of any Member of a Church defended, is a juſt cauſe of Separation.

They acknowledge it is the fancy of the *Anabaptiſts* to ſeparate for every fault and errour; but that which alone diſpleaſeth them in this fancy, is a fault whereof the *Anabaptiſts* ſeem not to be guilty, the not advertiſing of the Church of the fault and errour of the Member they complaine of before they ſeparate: If this neglect be helped, the reſt of the fancy they ſeem to approve. (BB)

Thus much for the matter of their Church; the form of it, not Accidentall, but Eſſentiall and Conſtitutive, they place in an explicite Covenant, (CC) wherein, all and every one of the Members, by a voluntary Aſſociation, without the Authority of either Magiſtrate or Miniſter, do binde themſelves under a ſolemn Oath to walk in the wayes of the Goſpel. (DD)

They place the form of their Church in an expreſſe Covenant.

When two or three, or ſome very few, (for they require no more then ſeven to a full and perfect Congregation; (EE) and they profeſſe it unlawfull to admit any more then can commodiouſly at one time, in one place, partake of all the Ordinances;) (FF) If when theſe few, I ſay, have departed not only from the *Engliſh*, and the reſt of the Reformed, but alſo from every Church of their own way, wherein they finde the leaſt errour or ſin of any of the Members, whereof they have complained, not to be amended, either by the Repentance or the Excommunication of the party: (GG) The Aſſociation of theſe men, thus ſeparate into Covenant, is the eſſentiall form of their Church.

Seven may make a perfect Church, yea, two or three.

But the aſſociation muſt be ſo voluntary and free, as not to wait for the countenance of any Authority, either Eccleſiaſtick, or Civill; to ſupplicate the Magiſtrate for his favour in the gather-

The erecting of a Church requireth, neither the Magiſtrates, nor Miniſters aſſiſtance.

ing

ing of a new Church, is to them a ſinne; (*HH*) and to erect a Church by the help of any Miniſter, to them is a contradiction: For the Church newly erected, makes the Miniſter; but no Miniſter can gather or erect a Church. (*II*) If a perſon, who elſewhere hath been a Miniſter, become the Author or Inſtrument of erecting a Church, he is not then a Miniſter, but a meer private man, till the Church ſo erected by a new call and ordination by themſelves, doth make him again a Miniſter.

They put all Church power in a handful of people, without any Paſtor.

Unto their Church ſo conſtituted in matter and form, were their number never ſo ſmall, before it attain to any Officer, either Paſtor, or Doctor, or Elder, they aſcribe great power and fair priviledges; not only the power of Doctrine, but of Ordination, and all Iuriſdiction; even a full right to all the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and every priviledge of any viſible Church, how perfect ſo ever. (*KK*)

The Election, Ordination, Depoſition, and Excommunication of the Miniſter, belongs to the flock, and to it alone.

This their new Church, they will have to elect the Paſtor, and all other Officers; if a Paſtor ſhould come to them by the preſentation of a Patron, or nomination of a Presbytery, however they did not oppoſe, yea, did conſent to his admiſſion, yet if they were not the Electors, and firſt Nominators, the man ſhould be an intruder and a Woolf, whom they might not lawfully hear. (*LL*)

The Paſtor being choſen, and that out of their own number, uſually ſome Artificer or Tradeſman (for they do not require Letters in their Paſtors:) and ſo far in their Elections, they tye themſelves to their own Members, that if any other were found meet and willing to be an Officer among them, he muſt firſt enter into their Covenant, and become a Member before he were capable of any Office. (*MM*) When, I ſay, they have elected him a Paſtor, the ſame, and no other then who did elect, do give him Ordination; for the right and exerciſe of Ordination, (*NN*) they aſcribe to the people, that is, according to *Ainſworth*, and others, (if we believe *Johnſon*) every Member of the flock, even Women and Children. (*OO*) But according to *Johnſons* minde, only the men of the flock, excluding Women and Children; yet including the meaneſt and moſt ignorant of all the men whoare Communicants: To theſe they aſcribe the power of Ordination, who in the exerciſe of it, appoint ſome of their number, whom they think fitteſt to ordain the Paſtor, that is, to examine him in all the needfull

needfull qualifications of his life and doctrine, to exhort him to all the parts of his duty, publikely to pray for him, and at last to lay hands upon his head (*PP.*)

The Pastor so elected and ordained, becomes a servant, not only of Christ, but of that flock from whom hee hath (as they speak) originally (*QQ*) all his power to preach, or celebrate the Sacraments, or do any other part of his Office: wherein if he faile, any one of the people hath power to admonish and reprove him publikely (*RR*;) and the greater part of the people in any Congregation agreeing (suppose they were foure, when the whole makes seven) have full power to depose and excommunicate him (*SS*;) much more have they power to cognosce, and definitively to determine upon the nature of Heresie, Superstition, Errour, or of any crime which procures these censures.

When the major part of the people have cast out the Minister, and all the Officers, and so many of the flock as adhere to them, no part of their power by this ejection is lost; still they keep their full right to all the Ordinances of Christ; any of them who is thought able, may prophesy; that is, publikely expound the Word, and apply it for instruction, reproof, comfort, and all other uses: (*TT*) Any of them may pray in the Congregation, any may Ordaine, any may Excommunicate; they give expresly a full power to every one of admonition and rebuke, yea, of censuring so farre the whole, that if they refuse to follow the just admonition of any one, he ought to denounce the judgements of God publikely against them all, and separate from them as from an obstinate and cursed society (*VV.*)

Every man of the Congregation may preach and publickly rebuke, not only the Pastor, but the whol flock, yea, & separate from it.

The only question remains about the Sacraments; all of them agree, that the smallest and weakest Congregation may chuse and ordaine one of their own number when ever they will, to be Pastor, and so to celebrate the Sacraments to the rest (*XX*;) but the most of them say, that unlesse they have appointed a Pastor for that end, none of the rest can lawfully celebrate a Sacrament: (*YY*) Yet others of them make a Quære hereof (*ZZ*;) for say they, since the Church without Officers hath the free exercise of all other power, in preaching, prayer, and censures; why may not the like be said of the Sacraments? These men after their scropling for some time, as their custome is, come up at last to conclude and practise celebrating Sacraments without any Pasto-

Some of them give the power of the Sacraments also to private persons.

rall charge of Baptisme it is certain; for Master *Smith* professing himselfe a meere private man, having renounced his former Ministery and Baptism also, took upon him to baptize himselfe; and who lawfully may celebrate the one Sacrament, may as lawfully celebrate the other.

The solemnizing of marriage they give to parents, but divorces they commit to the parties themselves.

When all the power is ascribed by them to their Church, yet peremptorily they deny to it the power to solemnize marriage: *(AAA)* for marriage to them is not only a contract meerly civill, but such an one as concernes the Church nothing at all; so they remit it wholly to the Magistrate, or else to the Parents, *(BBB)* to be solemnized in private Families; and as their marriage is private, so likewise must their Divorces, without the cognizance either of Magistrate or Minister *(CCC.)* They were wont to teach, that adultery did so farre annull marriage, that it was a sinne, and the cause of excommunication for the innocent party to forgive, and cohabit any longer with the party nocent: albeit, they professe their retractation hereof, making it now free for the innocent party, either to depart or abide with the nocent, as they finde it expedient; and all this without any legal processe, *(DDD.)*

They make every Congregation Independent, and of soveraigne Authority.

The power which they grant to their smalleſt Congregations, is very great; but they adde one circumstance to it that makes it high above measure: All the power of their smalleſt Congregations must be Independent and Soveraign, that is, absolutely Supream upon Earth, depending immediately upon Christ, and none else; for they deny all Ecclesiastick Authority above a particular Congregation, which goes beyond a meer advice and counsell *(EEE.)*

So that if the most part of a people in a Congregation should turne hereticall and extreamly wicked, excommunicating their Pastor, their Doctor, their Elders, and whole Consistory, only for truth and righteousnesse: For all this, no persons on Earth, not an Oecumenick Synod shall have any more power to controll them, then the meaneſt of their own servants; for to the meaneſt servant they give power to admonish, reprove, rebuke, and to separate from the whole Church, when it is obstinate in any evill: and more power then this they will not give to the greateſt and best Synods over a Congregation of a very few, sometimes very ignorant and weak persons *(FFF.)*

They

They doe not deny that Presbyteries and Synods are the Ordinances of God, which have many profitable uses; (*GGG*) but the Synods they allow of, must have these conditions.

Their judgement of Synods.

First, they will have them only occasionall and elective, not set or ordinary, but as any Church shall have need to call together whom they think meet for their help and advice, in what matters they think good to propound. (*HHH*)

Secondly, The Members of their Synod must not be only Ministers and Elders, and men cloathed with Commissions; but all who please to come, without exclusion of any (*III.*)

Thirdly, All who come, as well People as Officers, must have free liberty, both of debate and voting decisively (*KKK.*)

Fourthly, Nothing must go by number, or plurality of voices, (*LLL.*)

Fifthly, In their Synods there must be no Moderator, no Prolocutor for the ordering of the Action (*MMM.*)

Sixthly, They will not be content that any Synod should have the least power of jurisdiction to censure the wickedest Heretick who is infecting all about him far and near with the vilest Errors, (*NNN.*)

In these their fancies they please themselves so well, that they avow the very Crowne, Scepter, and Throne of Christs Kingdome to consist in them (*OOO.*) That the Churches so constituted and governed, are nothing lesse then the new *Jerusalem* comming down from Heaven (*PPP.*) That all the Reformed Churches for their aberration from this Constitution and Government, are either no Churches at all, or but *Babylonish* and Adulterous Churches, or at best, but corrupt Societies from which a Separation is necessary.

Their high conceit of their own way, and injurious depressing of all others.

In things concerning the Worship they have crotchets not a few upon the Maxime that all Monuments of Idolatry must be abolished precisely, according to the Lawes of the old Testament; they will have all Churches that were builded in the time of Popery, made levell with the ground, (*QQQ.*) their Bels to be broken, yea, all Bels to be unlawfull, being Humane and Popish inventions (*RRR.*)

Churches, Bels, Pulpits, Tithes, Glebes, Manses, and all set maintenance of Ministers, are unlawfull.

Not so much as a Church-yard must be kept up for Buriall, but all must bury in the fields (*SSS.*)

Not so much as a Church-yard must be kept up for Buriall, but all must bury in the fields.

Whatever of old was dedicated to the maintenance of the Wor-

Worſhip of God, they will have it all rejected as an Inſtrument of Idolatry: But herein they ſeem to deal ſcarce fairly with the Law; for howſoever they preſſe the caſting down of the Churches, the Breaking of the Bels, the aboliſhing of the Idols, and all that belonged thereunto (*TTT*); yet they do leave to the Magiſtrate, or to any who in this are ſerviceable to their humour, the rich rewards of the Gold, Silver, Braſſe, Veſtments, Timber, Stone, Lands and Rents, which belonged to theſe Churches, to be poſſeſſed by them with a very good Conſcience, and without the leaſt ſcruple of any Sacriledge. (*VVV*)

However they doe maintain, that all the Officers of their Church, not onely Paſtors, and Doctors, but every one of their other four ſorts of Miniſters, Elders, Deacons, Helpers, Widows, (*XXX*) ought in Conſcience, and by Divine right to be (by the Congregations, which they ſerve) (*YYY*) provided for; yet they are ſo far from permitting any of them to enjoy the leaſt portion of the old Rents of the Church, that they avow Parſonages and Vicarages, Glebes, and Manſes, to be altogether unlawfull (*ZZZ*). That for a Miniſter to crave any Tithes, or for any man for all that either Laws or Magiſtrates can command, to pay any Tithes, is a ſin which aboliſhes from Chriſt. (*AAAA*).

They drive the aboliſhing of Church-rents, ſo high as to make all goods common.

They adde further, That all ſet maintenance to Church-Officers, is againſt the Goſpel; that it is the will of Chriſt, that Miniſters now be provided for in that ſame way as himſelf and his Apoſtles were of old, onely by the voluntary Contributions and meer alms of the people: They drive on this point ſo far, as to come up in terms to the *Anabaptiſts* Tenet of making all goods common (*BBBB*).

The days of the week, the months, the year of God, they will not name.

Their hatred of Idolatry is ſo great, that they profeſſe it unlawfull, ſo much as to mention in any civil way, the names of places or times that carry any footſtep of any ancient Idoll, Saint *Andrew*, Saint *John*, *Peter* or *Pauls* Church: *Munday*, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, *Sunday*; *January*, *February*, *March*; thoſe and the like words to them are profane and unlawful (*CCCC*): The very year of God diſpleaſeth them; they will have it called, *The yeare of the Saints laſt patience* (*DDDD*).

No Pulpits, no Hour-glaſſes, no Churches, no Gowns.

They will have no Circumſtance in the Worſhip determined, not ſo much as by cuſtome, much leſſe by Law; there muſt be no limitation of Preaching either to time or place. Pulpits they

ſcorn,

scorn, they call them Privileged Tubs (*EEEE*). They laugh at preaching to an hour-glasse (*FFFF*). To preach in a Gown, is to them little better then a Surplice, or a Fryars Coul. That Penitents in their publike confession should stand in a peculiar place, or in any habit diverse from ordinary, is to them a matter of mockery (*GGGG*).

As for the parts of the worship, in all of them they have some one singularity or other: They make all set-prayer, the very Lords prayer it self used Prayer-wise, not onely to be inconvenient and unlawfull, but to be Idolatry, and the worship of the Devil (*HHHH*); howbeit Master *Robinson* here corrects his companions, and professeth that set prayer in some cases, is very lawfull worship (*IIII*). All set-prayer, even the Lords prayer, and all Psalms in meeter, yea in prose, if used as praises, are unlawfull.

The singing of Psalms in meeter, not being formal Scripture, but a Paraphrase, to them is unlawfull (*KKKK*); much more the singing of any other songs in the Church, which are not expresse Scripture. They permit to sing Psalms in Prose, not as an act of immediate praise (*LLLL*); for set-Praise would be as idolatrous as set-Prayer; but as a matter of instruction and comfort, whereby God is glorified, as by all other actions, whether naturall, moral, or spirituall, which are done in faith.

But herein Master *Smith* is wiser then his fellows, telling us, That all Songs in the Church out of a Book, whether in Verse or Prose are Idolatry (*MMMM*); yet he admits of singing such Psalms as the Spirit dictates to any person immediately without Book (*NNNN*).

It seems the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam* have recanted their error in this point; for all of them sing now in strange tunes the Psalmes in meeter, of *Ainsworths* exceeding harsh Paraphrase.

Preaching of the Word, to them is no Pastorall act, but is common, not onely to all the Officers, but to every gifted Brother of the Flock (*OOOO*). Their opinion of preaching and Sacraments.

The Word *Sacrament* to them is traditionall, corrupt, and not to be used (*PPPP*).

The Baptism of the *English* Church they make to be vain, and null, the seal of no grace, but onely of wrath and condemnation (*QQQQ*); yet they will not have it repeated.

They teach that the Lords Supper should be celebrated every Lords day (*RRRR*): So preparation-Sermons before, and Sermons for Thanksgiving after the Lords Table, to them are needless. They will Their strange way of celebrating the Lords Supper.

will have all to sit at the Lords Table with their Hats on: uncovering of the head in the act of receiving, to them is Idolatry (SSSS). In this the present practice at *Amsterdam* contradicts their Doctrine; for however they sit covered in time of all the reading and discourse; yet when it comes to the participation of the Elements, every man during the time of his eating and drinking, sits uncovered.

They reject Catechisms, the Apostles Creed, and all reading of Scripture without exposition.

They count it lawfull to joyne with the Lords Table Love-feasts (TTTT).

They reject all Catechisms, being set and so unlawfull forms of instruction (VVVV). After a Member is once received amongst them, they enquire no more for his knowledge, having once gotten satisfaction, at his admission to Membership, of his sufficient knowledge.

The Apostles Creed they detest, as an old Patchery of evill stuff (XXXX): Christs descent into hell, they count a blasphemous Article (YYYY).

They reject all publike reading of the Word which is not backed with present Exposition (ZZZZ): They do not, so far as I can remark, scruple the Office of Readers and Expounders; for they give full liberty of publike and ordinary Preaching to any gifted man of the Flock, though he have no Office.

After preaching, they prophesie.

When the exercise of Reading, Expounding, Singing of Psalms, Praying and preaching by the Pastor is ended, they will have one, two, three, or four, to propheſie in order (AAAAA); and all to have a free liberty of continuing so long as they thinke meet.

Then comes the conference.

After all this is done, they have yet another exercise, wherein, by way of conference, questioning and disputation, every one of the Congregation may propound publikely, and presse their Scruples, Doubts and Objections against any thing which that day they have heard (BBBBB).

And, as if all these Exercises were not enough to tire out a spirit of Iron, the most of them being repeated again in the afternoon; for a conclusion of all they bring in the laborious and long work of their Discipline, for which the whole Flock must stay till they have heard, debated and discerned every cause that concerns either the Officers, or any of the people, whether in Doctrine or Manners (CCCCC).

Brown for liberty of conscience.

Concerning the Magistrate, Master *Brown* teacheth, that he hath

no

no right to meddle at all with any matter of Religion, but to permit the liberty and free choyce of Religion to the conscience of every one of his Subjects *DDDDD*. The most of *Brownes* followers do leave in this their Master, making it a great part of the Christian Magistrates Office to suppresse, within their owne Bounds, Idolatry and False Doctrine *EEEEE*; To compell all their Subjects, if they will not be perswaded, to heare the Word preached; albeit no way to enter themselves members of any Church, or to hinder any to enter into any Church they will, or to erect new Churches of their own framing *FFFFF*.

His followers against it.

Further, if the Magistrate be a member of any Church, they will have him, were he the King himself, to be so farre subject to their Church censures, that a little small congregation shall have power, upon his obstinacy in any sin or errour, to excommunicate him, and that without all delay, without any respect to his Crown, more then if he were the poorest servant of the whole flock *GGGGG*; and, which is worst of all, the Prince his Excommunication by the hands of so small and weak a company, must be without all possible relief; for he hath no liberty of appeal to any upon earth *HHHHH*; an Oecumenick Councell may not assay to loose the knot of that censure which the hand of the Congregation hath tied.

Their carriage towards the Magistrate.

But their great Tenent about the Magistracy is this; That no Prince nor State on the earth hath any Legislative power; That neither King nor Parliament can make any Law in any thing that concerns either Church or State; That God alone is the Law-giver; That the greatest Magistrate hath no other power, but to execute the Lawes of God set downe in Scripture *IIIII*; That the judiciall Law of *Moses* bindes at this day all the Nations of the world, as well as ever it did the Jewes *KKKKK*. They tell us that whatever God in Scripture hath left free, it may not be bound by any humane Law, whether Civill or Ecclesiastick; and what God hath bound by any Law in Scripture, they will not have it loosed by the hand of any man.

They spoile Kings and Parliaments of their Legislative power.

They lay it upon the Magistrate to punish by death, without any dispensation, every Adulterer, every Blasphemer, every Sabbath-breaker; and above all, every Idolater, *LLLLL*. And here is the great danger, that by Idolaters they will have understood, not only Pagans and Papists, but the farre greatest part of all Protestants, all absolutely who are not of their way; for, the using of a

They oblige the Magistrate to kill all Idolaters.

XUM

But to spare all thieves.

set Prayer, were it the Lords own Prayer, to them is clear Idolatry *MMMMM* 1. For all this they will not permit any Magistrate to hang any thief at all *MMMMM* 2.

They will have the Vniversities destroyed.

Against the learning of the Times, they make large Invectives; the Universities, and all the Colledges in them, they will have razed to the ground; they professe them to be worse then the Monasteries that justly were abolished *NNNNN*: whatever Arts and Sciences are taught in the Christian Schools, they count them idle and vain; Grammar, Rhetorick, Logick, Philosophy, are all unlawfull Arts *OOOOO*.

Secular authors and learning must be abolished.

The Heathen Writers which are used in any Faculty, such as *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Cicero*, and the like, they would have them all burnt, as the Authors of unlawfull Arts. They reject all School-degrees, such as *Batchelors*, *Masters of Arts*, *Doctors* of any faculty *PPPPP*. They will have no Students of Divinity *QQQQQ*.

Preachers must study no book but the Scriptures.

They tell us that youths miss-spend their time, and exceedingly abuse themselves, by studying of those things which usually are recommended unto them as preparations for the Ministery, whether Common places, Commentaries upon Scripture, or Protestant Writers of Controversies; all such Books they will have laid aside *RRRRR*; yea, it is their advice to reject all Books but the Bible alone *SSSSS*. As for Divinity-Disputations, they make large Invectives against them, as Paganish and very sinfull Exercises *TTTTT*; notwithstanding all this, they proclaime themselves great Patrons of all true Learning *VVVVV*; albeit, as yet they have not been pleased to let the world know what kinde of Letters and Books they will be pleased with, when all that hitherto have been known, are laid aside by their perswasion.

The Testimonies.

A. Barrowes Discovery, p. 26. *In this estate, what communion is to be held with the Church of* England? *what fellowship may the children of God have with such Rebels and Apostates? Can the name of a Church, without blasphemy unto Christ, be given unto them in these sins? They then not being under Christs protection, nor in the state of grace, while they continue in their sin, I have often wondred how any man of sound judgement could give them the name of a Church.*

Ibid.

Ibid. in the Preface. *Let the rest no longer tempt God, or behold under the dint of this dreadfull Milstone, by any perswasion; but let them save their soulz out of this accursed false Church, and joyn themselves to the faithfull servants of Christ with all speed.*

The Confession, Art. 31. *These Assemblies standing thus in confusion, cannot be said truly to have Christ their King, Priest, and Prophet, neither in this estate can be esteemed the true, visible, orderly, constitute Church of Christ, whereof the faithfull may become or stand members, or have any spirituall Communion with them in their spirituall Worship and Administrations: Therefore are all that would be saved bound by Gods Commandment with speed to come forth out of this Antichristian estate, leaving the suppression of it to the Magistrate, to whom it belongs.*

A light for the Ignorant, p. 8, 9. *This Whorish City hath a Body of false Prophets; whosoever heareth these, or any of these, breaks the first Commandment; for in hearing and obeying these, they hear and obey the Dragon, Beast and Whore that sent them, and gave them their Authority and Office; they use some Divine Truths, to help to set a glosse on their Inventions; but both divine and invented are consecrated and dedicated by the Beast, and administred by his Office.*

(B) *Robinsons Apologie*, pag. 78. Convenit nobis quatenus reformatis Ecclesiis Belgicis & aliis cum Ecclesia Anglicana in Articulis fidei hujus Ecclesiæ nomine scriptis; idem *in his Book of the lawfulnesse of the hearing of the Ministers of the Church of* England.

Barrows Refutation of *Giffard*, p. 21. *We never doubted but the foundation of God stood firm, the Lord having many thousands of his elect among you known to himself.* Idem, in his Discovery, p. 119. *The errours and faults of Baptism being purged by Repentance, it pleases God, in pardoning the faults, to reserve, and not to have repeated the outward action.* Their Apologie, p. 93. *We gladly embrace the common faith professed in this Land, as most holy and sound: We have a reverend estimation of sundry, and good hope of many hundred thousands in the Land.* Their Confession, pag. 8. *We testifie by these presents to all men, That we have not forsaken any one point of the true, ancient, Apostolike Faith professed in our Land, but hold the same grounds of Christian Religion with them.*

(C) Barrows Discovery, p. 26. *There is no cause to doubt but any of Gods servants may avoid that Congregation which rejecteth Gods*

Word presumptuously, as a wicked Assembly, and an adulterous Church. Ibid. pag. 29. *I deny these assemblies to be true Churches of Christ, seeing they have broken the Covenant, and cast off the Yoke of Christ.*

(D) Barrows Refutation, pag. 33. *We further conclude from the second Commandment, That whatsoever Worship is devised by man, and whatsoever device of man is put in the Worship of God, is in Idolatry: But a great part, if not the whole Worship of God in your Church, is devised by man. If God be not worshipped with this kind of Worship: Then, to speak as the Prophets and Apostles do, the devill is worshipped thereby.*

(E) Apologie, pag. 54. *None can submit unto, or have any spirituall Communion with the Hierarchie aforesaid, but they worship the Beast and his Image, and so make themselves subject to the wrath of God.* Barrows discovery, pag. 180. *Here would not be forgotten the sweet Psalmodicall harmony of the Vultures, Cranes, Owls, Geese, of the Leopards, Bears, Wolves, Dogs, Swine, Foxes, Goats. Pardon me, for thus the holy Ghost termeth the profane confused multitude in false Churches.*

(F) Barrows Discovery, pag. 52. *Disguised Hypocrites, ravening Wolves, that come to us in sheeps cloathing, under the glorious titles of Pastors and Teachers, Ministers of the Gospel, men of great Learning, holy Life, sighers for Reformation; these Pharisees, these Sectaries are they that mislead the people in their crooked paths of death.* Ibidem pag. 112. *No middle course can here be taken; we must either make the Tree good or evill; These Ministers of the Church of* England *are true or false: if false, then deliver they no true Sacraments, then is all their Administration, Sacraments and Sermons accursed, how holy soever or neer the Truth in outward shew; then are they the Ministers of Satan, of Antichrist, sent by God in his wrath to deceive and destroy such as are ordained to death; then ought not the Prince to repair to their Sermons for comfort; then is all the comfort she taketh there, but delusion, even the deceit of Satan; then are they seducers who perswade her to go to them, as whereby they draw her to the wrath of God, and imminent danger and inevitable destruction, except she forsake them.*

(G) Vide f. also Barrows Discovery, pag. 154. *The comfort received from their Preaching, their whole Ministery being accursed, is a fearfull signe of the effectuall working of their delusions: From their Mini-*

Ministery in this estate, no comfort is to be looked for, but assured destruction; they being of God in his wrath sent to deceive the children of death, the Reprobates.

(H) Barrows discovery, p. 29. *I deny their Sacraments to be the Ordinances of God, seeing to them, in this estate, belong not the Sacraments and Ministery of Christ, but the curse and judgement of God.* Ibidem p. 31. *Such Sacraments can no wayes be called the Ordinances of Christ, but rather sure Seals of his wrath to as many as profane his holy Ordinances, and joyn together in that ungodly and accursed action, until they repent.*

(I) Vide f. also Barrows Dis. pag. 43. *There can be no greater allowance of joyning to them, then to make them our mouth or Ministers unto God, or together with such to joyn in any action concerning the worship of God.*

(K) See Master *Bals* Confutation of the Brownists.

(L) Barr. Dis. p. 66. *This Book being a publick prescript Liturgie, were it the best that ever was devised by mortall man; yet being brought into the Church, yea into any private house, would be an abominable sacrifice in the sight of God, even as a dead dog. Truly I am ashamed to write of so grosse and filthy abominations so generally received, even of all States of these parts of the world, who of a Popish Custom and Tradition have received it one of another, without any warrant from the Word.* Ibid. p. 75. *Other more sinnful hypocrites, yet as grosse idolaters, use the Lords Prayer as a close of their own.*

(M) Canns Necessity of Separation, p. 66. *It is all one, whether turning on the left hand we embrace the Idolatry of Bishops, or turning on the other hand we follow the new devices of mens foolish brains; for utter destruction certainly follows both.*

(N) *Robinsons* Apologie, p. 89. Quæ nos ad Separationem solicitant, ipsam Ecclesiæ materialem & formalem constitutionem ejusdemque politeiæ administrationem essentialem spectant.

(O) Johns. Enquiry, p. 25. *Seeing by the mercy of God we have seen and forsaken the corruptions which remain in the French and Dutch Churches, we cannot partake with them in such case, without apostasie from the Truth.*

(P) Johns. Plea, pag. 231. *Every particular Church, with their Pastors, stand immediately under Christ the Arch-Pastor, without any other strange Ecclesiasticall power intervening, whether it be of*

Prelates, or other unlawfull usurping Synods, or of any such like, invented by man, and brought into the Church. Barrows Disp. pag. 263. *If we would but lightly examine these secret Classes, these ordinary set Synods which the Reformists would openly set up, they shall, no doubt, be found as new, strange, Antichristian, and prejudiciall to the Rights of the Church, as contrary to the Gospel of Christ, as the other, what shew soever of former antiquity or present necessity they can pretend.* Idem Refut. of Giffard, p. 137. *These are the ancient Sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees, the one in preciseness, outward shew of holiness, hypocrisie, vain-glory, and covetousness, resembling, or rather exceeding the Pharisees; the other, in their whole Religion, and dissolute conversation, like to the Sadducees, looking for no Resurrection, Judgement, or life to come; the one removing from place to place for their advantage and best entertainment, in the error of* Balaam, *for wages, seduce and distract the people of the Lord from their own Churches and Pastors.* Sions Royall Prerogative, *to* the Preface. *Whereas the Papists place the power of Christ given in the Church, in the Pope, the Protestants in the Bishops, the Reformed Churches, as they are called, in the Presbytery: Neither of them hath right in this thing, but contrariwise Christ hath given the said power of his to all his Saints, and placed it in the Body of every particular Congregation.*

(Q. 1.) *Robinsons Apol. p.* 83. Personas Episcoporum, vel autoritatem qua potiuntur civilem in rebus vel civilibus vel etiam Ecclesiasticis, non aversamur.

(Q. 2.) Vide supra. *F.*

(R. 1.) Barr. Dis. p. 33. *Such like detestable stuff hath Master* Calvin *in his ignorance brought to defend his own rash and disorderly proceedings at* Geneva, *whiles he at the first dash made no scruple to receive the whole State into the bosome of the Church: yea, that which is worse, and more to be lamented, it became a miserable precedent and pernicious example to all* Europe, *to fall in the like transgression, as in the confused estate of all those Regions where the Gospel is thus ordinarily taught, is more then plain.*

(R. 2.) *Robins. Apol. p.* 7. Profitemur coram Deo & hominibus adeo nobis convenire cum Ecclesiis reformatis Belgicis in re Religionis, ut omnibus & singulis earundem Ecclesiarum fidei Articulis prout habentur in harmonia Confessionum fidei, parati simus subscribere. *Ibid.* p. 11. Ecclesias reformatas pro veris

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& genuinis habemus, cum illorum in sacris Dei Communionem profitemur, & quantum in nobis est colimus; conciones publicas ab illarum pastoribus habitas ex nostris qui norunt Linguam Belgicam frequentant; Sacram cœnam earum membris, si qua forte nostris cœtibus interfint nobis cognita, participamus: Malis illarum serio ingemiscimus. Apol. for the Brownists, pag. 35. *We are willing and ready to subscribe those Grounds of Religion published in the Confession of Faith made by the Church of Scotland, hoping in the unity of the same Faith to be saved by Jesus Christ, being also like minded in points of greatest moment with all other Reformed Churches; and on the contrary, for Anabaptists, Familists, and all other Heretickes, new, and old, we utterly reject them, and all their Errours and Heresies.* Johns. Plea. p. 245. *I acknowledge the Reformed Churches to be the true Churches of Christ, with whom I agree, both in the Faith of Christ, and in many things concerning the Order and Government of the Church.*

(R. 3.) Johns. Inquiry, p. 57. *Having declined to divers Errors of the Dutch, the Church did excommunicate him, and so still he remains.* Ibid. p. 59. *Yet it is false that we have excommunicate any for the hearing onely the Word preached among the Dutch or French; for these that yet we have cast out here, it hath been partly for revolting from the truth which they professed with us, to the corruptions of those Churches; and partly for other sins.*

(S.) The Confession, p. 26. *The state of the Dutch Church at Amsterdam is so confused, that the whole Church can never come together in one; they read out of a Book certain prayers invented and imposed by men; the command of Christ, Matth. 18. they neither observe, nor suffer to be observed rightly; they worship God in the Idol-Temples of Antichrist, their Ministers have their set maintenance, their Elders change yearly, they celebrate marriage in the Church, they use a new censure of Suspension.*

(T) *Robins. Apol. p. 81.* Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ constitutio materialis est ex hominum flagitiosorum colluvie, paucis si cum reliquis piis admistis conferantur.

(V) Canns Necessity, p. 167. *He is to come himself into the publick Assembly, all looking on him with love and joy, as one that comes to be married, and there he is to make publick confession of his Faith, to answer divers questions; being found worthy by the consent of the whole, he is to be taken into the Communion.*

(X) Bar. Dis. pag. 34. *I have shewed, that the known and suffered*

sin of any Member, is contagious to all that communicate with them in that estate, and maketh them which communicate in Prayers or Sacraments with such an obstinate offender, as guilty in Gods sight as he himself is.

(Y) Bar. dis. pag. 34. *I have shewed that the whole Church hath no power to dispense with the breach of the least Commandment, and that such obstinate sin in the whole Church breaketh the Covenant with God, and maketh it cease to be a Church, or in Gods favour, till it repent.*

(Z) Vide supra, X, Y.

(AA) Bar. dis. pag. 157. *They make this part of Gods Word substantiall, that of Form; this Fundamentall, that Accidentall; this necessary to salvation, that needlesse; but if the whole Word of God be holy, pure, and true, then is this deep learning of theirs, devillish and blasphemous.* Ibid. *They thus to colour their wickednesse, make some part of Gods Word Fundamentall, Substantiall, necessary; other Accidentall, Superficiall, needlesse, which make some sins openly and manifestly convinced, yet obstinately persisted in without any repentance in this life, not to be mortall as the Papists do.*

Barrowe refut. pag. 24. *We have learned to put difference betwixt Errour and Heresie. Obstinacy joyned to Errour after it is duely convinced, maketh Heresie: And further we say, that any Errour being obstinately holden and taught, after it is duly convinced and reproved, maketh an Heretike; and Heresie in that party, and in that Congregation that so holdeth and teacheth, doth separate from the Faith and Communion of Christ.* Ibid. p. 27. *It is his Scholasticall, or rather Sophisticall distinction of Errours Fundamentall, &c. They who obstinately hold any Errour or Transgression, and will not by repentance be purged therefrom, lose Christ, and so hold not the Foundation.*

(BB) Bar. dis. pag. 33. *Such like detestable stuffe hath Master Calvin in his ignorance, partly to confute that damnable sect of Anabaptists, which fantastically dream to themselves of a Church in this life without spot, and for every Transgression that ariseth, are readie to forsake the fellowship of the Church, without due and orderly reproof.*

(CC) *Rob. Apol. p.* 81. Formalis ecclesiæ constitutio est ex fidei & resipiscentiæ confessione orali per adultos facta consociatio in particulares cœtus.

(DD) Confession of faith, p. 34. *Being come forth of this Anti-christian*

an eſtate, to the true profeſſion of Chriſt, beſide the inſtructing of their own Families, they are willingly to come together in Chriſtian communion, and orderly to covenant and unite themſelves in viſible Congregations. A light for the ignorant, p. 12. *This voluntary uniting, is the form and being of the politick and viſible Union and Communion.*

(EE) Robinſ. Juſt. p. 107. *This we hold and affirm, that a company conſiſting, though but of two or three gathered by a covenant made to walk in all the wayes of God, known unto them, is a Church, and ſo hath the whole power of Chriſt.* Ibidem p. 111. *Two or three thus gathered together, have the ſame rights with two or three thouſand; neither the ſmalneſſe of the number, nor meanneſſe of the perſons can prejudice their rights.*

(FF) Johnſ. Plea, pag. 250. *The conſtitution of every particular Church ſhould be ſuch that each of them may ordinarily come together in one place for the worſhip of God, and all other duties belonging to them, by the Word of God.* Rob. Apol. p. 12. Statuimus non debere eccleſias particulares ambitu ſuo plura membra complecti quam quæ in unum locum ſimul coire poſſunt.

(GG) Vide ſupra. X, Y.

(HH) Bar. diſ. p. 190. *They ſuite to bring Chriſt in by the Arm of Fleſh, by ſuiting and ſupplicating to his vaſſals and ſervants: If ſo be they can imagine them Chriſtians, that will not ſuffer Chriſt to reign over them by his Laws and Ordinances. If they judge them no Chriſtians, then they ſuite and ſtay on his enemies, till they will ſuffer Chriſt to reign and rule over his own Church.*

(II) Confeſſion, p. 34. *Beſide the inſtruction of their Families, they are willingly to come together, and unite themſelves in viſible Congregations: Then ſuch to whom God hath given gifts to interpret the Scriptures, may, and ought by the appointment of the Congregation, to prophecy, and ſo to teach publickly the Word of God, untill ſuch time as God manifeſt men with able gifts to ſuch Offices as Chriſt hath appointed for the publick Miniſtery of the Church, but no Sacrament to be adminiſtred untill the Paſtors or Teachers be choſen, and ordained to their Office.*

(KK) Bar. diſ. pag. 34. *Which people thus gathered are to be eſteemed an holy Church, and hath power to receive into and caſt out of their fellowſhip, although they have attained to have yet among them neither a Miniſtery nor Sacraments, providing it be not by any*

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default in them that they be warning. Ibidem. *It is manifest, that all the Members of the Church, have alike interest in Christ, in his Word, in the Faith; That all the affairs of the Church belong to the Body together; That all the actions of the Church, Prayers, Sacraments, Censures, Faith, be the actions of them all joyntly, and of everie one severally, although the Body to divers actions uses divers Members which it knows most fit for the same: All are charged to watch, admonish, reprove, and hereunto have the power of the Lord, the Keyes of the Kingdom, even the Word of the most High, whereby to binde their Rulers in chains, and their Nobles in fetters, to admonish the greatest, even* Archippus, *to look to his Ministery, and if need be, to plead with their mother.*

(LL) Canns Necessity of Sep. p. 29. *None may hear, or joyn in spiritual Communion with that Ministery which hath not a true Vocation and Calling, by Election, Approbation, and Ordination of that faithfull People whereto he is a Minister.* Ibid. p. 46. *So necessarie is a right election, and calling to every Ecclesiastick Office, that without the same, it cannot possibly be true or lawfull.* Barr. Refut. p. 130. *The Minister must not onely be called to a true Office, but must have a lawfull calling to that Office; otherwise he is but an intruder, a theef, and a murderer. Every particular Congregation ought to make choice of their own Pastors.*

(MM) A Light for, pag. 17. *In the false Church, the particular Congregations have no Authority to produce or raise Officers out of themselves; for the Clergy is a distinct Body, and sent by their Ecclesiasticall Heads, and bring their Office and Authoritie with them.*

(NN) Barr. Refut. p. 19. *This power of Ordination is not in the unruly Clergie of these dayes supposed, derived from the Apostles and Evangelists, under the permanent ministery of Pastors and Elders.* Ibid. p. 130. *Ordination is but a publishing of that former contract and agreement, betwixt the whole Church and these elected Officers, the Church giving, and the Elect receiving their Offices, as by the commandment of God, with mutuall vow to each other in all duties.* Canns Necessity of Separation, pag. 29. *None may joyn with that Ministery which hath not a true calling, by Election and Ordination of that faithfull people to whom he is to administer.*

(OO) Johns. Plea. p. 316. *It is to be understood according to* Ainsworth, Robinson, *and* Smith, *of men, women, and children, in their*

their own persons, who are bound in their own persons to be present, to hear and judge controversies.

(PP) Rob. Justif. p. 9. also p. 111.

(QQ) Light for the ignorant, p. 17. *These Officers have not onely their authority from particular congregations, but do arise originally and naturally out of the same.*

(RR) Vide supra KK. Also Bar. Dis. p. 125. *The least of the Church hath as much power by the Word of God, to binde the sin of the Pastor, and upon his repentance, to pronounce comfort and peace to him, as he hath to binde or loose the sins of the least.*

(SS) Confess. pag. 23. *As every congregation hath power to elect and ordain their own Ministery, so also have they power, when any such default in Life, Doctrine, or Administration breaks out, as by the rule of the Word deprives them of their Ministery, by due order to depose them; yea, if the case so require, if they remain obstinate, orderly to cut them off by Excommunication.*

Canns Necessitie, p. 155. *If they shall sin scandalously, the congregation that chose them freely, hath free power to depose them, and put another in their room.*

(TT) Johns. Inquir. p. 7. *We have in our Church the use of the exercise of prophecy spoken of, 1 Cor. 14. In which, some of the Brethren, (such as for gifts are best able, though not in office of the Ministery, deliver from some portion of Scripture, Doctrine, Exhortation, Comfort; sometimes two at a time, sometimes more.*

(VV) Bar. Disc. pag. 26. *There is no cause to doubt but any of Gods servants may censure, judge, and avoid that congregation which rejecteth Gods Word, breaketh Gods Law, despiseth his Reproof and Mercy, as a wicked Assembly, and an adulterous Church.* Ibid. pag. 38. *Who can deny but that every particular Member hath power; yea, and ought to examine the manner of administrating the Sacraments; as also, the Estate, Disorder, and Transgressions of the whole Church, and to call them all to Repentance; and if he finde them obstinate in their sin, rather to leave their fellowship, then to partake with them in wickedness.*

(XX) Vide supra. *MM.*

(YY) Vide supra. *II.*

(ZZ) Smiths Differences, pag. 56. *It may be a question whether the Church may not administer the Sacraments before there be any Officers among them.*

(AAA) Bar. Disc. pag. 121. *Ihave alwayes found it the Parents office to provide mariage for their children; and that the parties themselves should affiance and betroath one another in the fear of God, and in the presence of such witnesses as are present; and that in their Parents or other private houses, without turning to the Church or to the Priest.*

Confess. p. 45. *The Dutch Church at* Amsterdam *celebrates mariage in the Church, as if it were a part of the Ecclesiastick Administration, while as it is in the nature of it meerly civill.*

(BBB) Vide supra AAA.

(CCC) Vide supra AAA.

(DDD) Johnsons Inqui. pag. 33. *These of our Members that you censure, they avow that they accused themselves of adultery, not for that end to be quit of their wives, but being perswaded in their minde that they ought not to continue with their wives, having by their adultery broken the bond of mariage.* Ibidem. *This indeed we held the most of us heretofore, and some of us are so perswaded still; and while we were generally so minded, we thought it our duty to walk accordingly (he means to excommunicate even the innocent party who was pleased to dwell with her Husband after he had sinned) taking the innocent partie that retained such offenders, though upon repentance, yet to be defiled and live in sin.*

(EEE) Johns. Plea, p. 231. *Every particular church with the Pastor, doth stand immediately under* Jesus Christ *the Arch-Pastor without any other strange Ecclesiasticall power intervening, &c.*

Vide supra P. Also Robinsons Apol. p. 17. Non magis erat Petrus & Paulus homo integer & perfectus ex partibus suis essentialibus & integralibus constans, sine relatione ad alios homines, quàm est cœtus particularis recte institutus & ordinatus tota integra & perfecta ecclesia, ex suis partibus constans immediate & Independiter quoad alias ecclesias sub solo Christo; non itaque movendi sub humanæ prudentiæ, antiquitatis, unitatis, aut alio ullo colore, ecclesiæ visibilis seu ministerialis termini antiqui quos posuerunt Apostoli.

(FFF) Canns guide to Sion, about the midst. *It is sure that Christ hath not subjected any congregation of his to any superiour Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction then to that which is within it self; So that if the whole Church shall erre in a matter of faith or Religion, no other Church or Church officer hath any warrant from the Word of God, or power to censure*

sure, punish, or controll the same, but are onely to advise them, and so to leave their souls to the immediate judgement of Christ.

Robins. Apol. p. 18. Licet, imò incumbit Pastori unius ecclesiæ ut & reliquis membris quod donum accepit sive spirituale sive temporale, prout datur occasio, id aliis ecclesiis & earum membris impertiri, ex charitatis vinculo quo illis adunatur, non autem exequi in iis munus publicum ex authoritatis prærogativa quam in suos solos habet.

(GGG) Johns. Plea, pag. 251. *To this end, and in this manner may be had a profitable use of Synods, Classes, and Assemblies for mutuall help and advice in cases of question, controversie, and difficulty about Religion, so that they do not challenge or usurp any unlawfull jurisdiction or power over the particular Churches, and their Governors.*

(HHH) Bar. Disc. pa. 261. *These secret Classes, these ordinary set Synods which the Reformists would set up.*

(III) Bar. Refut. p. 81. *In a Christian Synod no Christian ought to be shut out, but all have equall power to speak, assent or dissent, without disturbing the Order of the Holy Church, by presuming to speak before the Ancients, or against any thing said by them without just cause; whoso doth, is reproved of all, judged of all as a disturber.*

(KKK) Vide supra. III.

(LLLL) Bar. Disc. p. 261. *In their Synods the matters being debated, the greatest part prevaileth, and carrieth the judgement.*

Ibid. p. 78. *This balloting by suffrage or plurality of voices, might well be a custom among the Heathen in their popular Government, but it is unheard of, and unsufferable in the Church of Christ.*

(MMM) Ibid. pa. 261. *The order and manner of these Councels, is, first, to chuse a Prolocutor, Moderator, or Judge to govern, and order the action, who, and when they shall speak, and when cease.*

Ibid. p. 191. *Not here to speak of their solemn Order observed in these Councels and Synods, as their choice by suffrages among themselves of their Archisynagogos or Rhetorchori, their President as they call him.*

(NNN) Vide supra. FFF.

(OOO) Bar. Dis. p. 38. *Every Member of his Church is to pronounce upon them the judgements that are written, and to throw upon them the stone of his judgement and consent: Therefore hath the Lord raised up the Throne of* David *in his Church, and set his Saints in seats round about his Throne.* A Light for the Ignorant, p. 10. *The true power which Christ our King hath received of the Father, and communicated to his Saints*

and these onely in that dominion which the Ancient of dayes hath given to his Saints, Dan. 7. 19.

(PPP) Johns. Plea, p. 321. *The Lord hath promised to raise up his Church again to the former integrity, and to set up the new and heavenly* Jerusalem *in the Ancient beauty thereof.*

(QQQ) Bar. Disc. p. 139. *Their Churches stand in their old Idolatrous shapes, and can never be purged till they be laid on heaps as their younger Sisters, the Abbacies were.*

Confess. pa. 39. *It is the Office of the Magistrate to destroy all Idol-Temples: The Dutch Church of* Amsterdam *worships God in the Idol-Temples of Antichrist.*

(RRR) Bar. Disc. p. 133. *Some of their old Relicts are yet in use, as their Bels, Surplices, &c. We may resolutely detest all such as abominable Idols, such as by the Law of God are devoted to utter destruction; the very Gold of them,* Deut. 7. *is to be destroyed; in such detestation ought Idolatry to be. God hath such Idol-places, and all their furniture in detestation, so that he hath commanded the Magistrate to raze and defate them; so that, neither they can be used to the worship of God, nor we have any civill use of them, seeing they are execrable and devoted to destruction; if the most precious matters be forbidden, how much more the baser, Iron, Brasse, &c.*

Canns Necessity, p. 122. *He that ordained first Bels, was* Sabinian *the Pope, in the yeer* 603. *Whatsoever cometh from Antichrist, cometh from the devil, and out of the bottomlesse Pit.*

(SSS) Bar. Refut. pag. 38. *Where learned you to bury in hallowed Churches and Church-yards, as though ye had no Fields to bury in?* Idem disc. p. 126. *Me thinks the Church-yards of all other places should be not the conveniencest for buriall; it was a thing never used till Popery began: It is neither comely, convenient, nor wholsome.*

(TTT) Confess. p. 39. *It is the Office of the Magistrate to destroy all Idol-Temples, and to convert to their civill Uses not onely the benefit of all such Idolatrous buildings and monuments, but also all the Revenues, Possessions, Glebes and Maintenance of any false Ministery within their own Dominions.*

(VVV) Vide supra, *TTT*, also Bar. Disc. p. 61. *Being given to the maintenance of a Popish Ministry, they ought to be put to civil Uses, and not to the maintenance of Christs Ministry.*

(XXX) Confess. pag. 19. *Christ having instituted and ratified to continue to the worlds end, the Ministry of Pastors, Teachers, Elders,*

Deacons,

Deacons, Helpers for Instruction and Government of his Church.

YYY. John. Plea. 316. *Whether it be not the duty of all Churches, and of the members thereof, every one according to their ability, to give maintenance unto their Ministers, and as there is occasion, to the Elders also that rule the Church, and to the Deacons and Deaconesses that serve and minister therein.*

ZZZ. Bar. Disc. p. 5. *Parsonages and Vicarages, in Name and Office, are Popish and Antichristian.* Ibid. pag. 61. *Here also by the way, the unlawfulnesse of their Glebes is well noted.*

AAAA. *Those men, whether Priest or People, which either pay or receive the Tithes, still keep the Levitical Laws for the maintenance of the Ministery, and thereby abolish the Gospel, and are abolished from Christ, whom we deny to be dead, risen, or ascended, while we maintain the shadow, or any part of the Ceremoniall Law to be revived.* Ibidem pag. 91. *The Prince demandeth my goods; I am ready and willing to depart with all to him, without all enquiry: But if he command me to give my goods to such an Idol, or after such a wicked manner, as by way of Tithes to a Minister, or by way of Pension to an Antichristian Minister; I may not obey, but rather suffer his indignation, yea death.*

BBBB. Bar. Disc. pag. 53. *The Shepherd is not limited, nor the sheep constrained to a tent or any stinted portion, but according to the present want of the one, and the state of the other, they together relieving him, and he together bearing the burden of their common poverty; every one that is taught, freely imparting of all his goods to the competent maintenance of such as instruct them, not unto excesse, but sufficiency. Which contribution, as it is the duty of the Saints, so for the manner of it, it is a free offering of their benevolence, an holy Alms unto the Lord; by contribution and alms, our Saviour Christ, and his Apostles, and all the Officers of the Church, were and are to be maintained.* Ibidem pag. 61. *They are not by rated proportions, as Tenths, or Thirds, but in love to make him partaker of that little or much the Lord sendeth, according to his present want and necessarie uses; who, if he have but food and raiment, ought to be therewith content.* Confess. pag. 45. *At* Amsterdam *their Ministers have their set maintenance in another manner then Christ hath ordained.*

BBBB 2. *Rob. Ap.* 36. Omnia etiam bona corporalia suo modo communia habenda, prout cuique opus, æquissimum videtur.

(CCCC) Bar. Dis. p. 132. *The dayes of their week still are devoted to the gods of the Heathen, having utterly lost the name and order of their Creator: As the first, second, third day of such a week; the first, second, third month of such a yeer.* Idem Refut. pag. 34. *If Luke should call it Mars-street, speaking in his own name, and for himself, he should commit idolatry by naming the creature of God after an Idol.* David *said he would not take the names of their Idols in his lips; but* Luke *recordeth onely the story, and the vulgar name of the place.*

(DDDD) See the Preface of the Confession.

(EEEE) Bar. Disc. pag. 180. *They have a prescript place like a Tub, called the Pulpit.* Ibid. p. 138. *In that his privileged Tub he may preach what he list.*

(FFFF) Ibid. p. 180. *They are prescribed the time when they begin, they dispute to the Hour-glasse.* Ibid. p. 54. *He must preach a Sermon an hour long.*

(GGGG) Bar. Disc. p. 132. *He may peradventure do his penance before all the* Sodomites *of the Parish in white sheets.*

(HHHH) Johns. plea. p. 245. *Book-Prayer being mens invention, in the worship of God, is a breach of the second Command. These Books and stinted Prayers, become indeed to be Idols, supplying the place of the Word and Spirit of God; in which respect such manner of worship becometh Idolatrous and Superstitious, and not to be communicate with; for what agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols?*

Vide supra. D. L.

(IIII) *Rob. Apol. p.* 20. Non dubito quin rite & pie usurpari possit haec ipsa forma in precando Deum, modo absit opinio necessitatis & perfectionis.

(KKKK) Bar. Disc. pa. 180. *Here would not be forgotten the sweet Psalmodicall harmony of the Vultures, Cranes, &c. All these together with one accord sing some pleasant Ballad, or else to* David's *melodious Harp some Psalm in rythme, well consonant to the ear; though never a whit to the sense, purpose, or true use of the Psalm.* Idem Refut. p. 254. *I have not spoken against that most comfortable and heavenly harmony of singing Psalms, but against rymning and paraphrasing the Psalms as in your Church, and against Apocrypha and Erroneous Ballads in rythme, sung commonly in your Church instead of the Psalms, and other Songs of holy Scripture.*

(LLLL) *Rob. Apol.* 20. Nego eandem esse rationem precationis & cantionis; ipsi Psalmi quorum materia precatione aut gratulatione constat, in hunc finem proprie & primo formantur a prophetis

prophetis in cantiones & Psalmos spirituales, ut nos edoceant, & quæ vota illi in angustiis constituti ad Deum fuderint, quasque liberati eidem Deo gratias retulerint, ut nos eosdem Psalmos sive psallentes sive legentes, institueremus nos ipsos sive publice sive privatim, sive docendo sive commonefaciendo sive consolando, ad Dei gloriam in cordibus nostris provovendam.

(MMMM) Smiths Diff. p. 4. *That the reading out of a book is no part of spirituall worship, but the invention of the Man of Sin; that Books and Writings are in the nature of Pictures and Images; that it is unlawfull to have the Book before the eyes in singing of a Psalm.*

(NNNN) Smiths Diff. Vide supra, cap. 1. E.

(OOOO) Confess. p. 34. *Such to whom God hath given gifts to interpret the Scriptures, ought by the appointment of the congregation to prophecy, and so to teach publickly the Word of God, untill such time as God manifests men with able gifts to such offices as Christ hath appointed to publick Ministery.*

(PPPP) Bar. Disc. p. 116. *Shall I speak according to the times and say, Be no true Sacrament? or rather leave that traditionall word which engendreth strife rather then godly edifying, and say, Be no true Seal of the Covenant?*

(QQQQ) Vide supra. F.

(RRRR) Johns. Plea, p. 291. *Whether it be not best to celebrate the Lords Supper where it can be every Lords day; this the Apostles used to do; by so doing we shall return to the entire practise of the churches in former ages.*

(SSSS) *How corrupt is the signe of the Crosse, kneeling, and uncovering of the head at the Lords Supper, and such things which Scripture prescribes not, but men have taken upon themselves, thus breaking the second Command, and joyning their Posts and Thresholds with the Lords? Men are thus drawn away from the simplicity of the practise used by Christ and his Apostles, who sat when they ate and drank, and did no more discover then before.*

(TTTT) Johns. Plea, p. 294. *To have Love feasts on the dayes of the Lords Supper, is a thing indifferent to keep or leave them, as they shall be used or abused, or as every church shall finde them to be most expedient for their estate.*

(VVVV) Bar. Refut. p. 43. *Not here to mention the binding of the Faith of the church to an Apocrypha Catechisme.* Idem. Disc. p. 142. *They are not ashamed to preach, and publickly expound in their church, their fond Apocrypha Catechisms.*

XXXX. Bar. Diſc. pag. 76. *Their forged patchery, commonly called, The Apoſtles Creed.*

YYYY. His Refut. pag. 48. *What Scripture can you bring for the blaſphemous Article of Chriſts deſcent into Hell?*

ZZZZ. Canns Neceſſity, p. 44. *Bare reading of the Word and ſingle Service-ſaying, is an Engliſh Popery, and far be it from the Lords people to hear it: for if they would do ſo, they would offer to the Lord a corrupt thing, and ſo incur that curſe of Malachi.*

AAAAA. Johnſ. Enqui. p. 7. *We have in our Church the uſe of the exerciſe of Prophecy ſpoken of, 1 Cor. 14. in which ſome of the Brethren which are for gifts beſt able, though not in Office of the Miniſtery, deliver from ſome portion of Scripture, Doctrine, Exhortation, Comforts, ſometimes two at a time, ſometimes more.*

BBBBB. Johnſons Enquiry, p. 7. *Then, if there be occaſion, upon the Scriptures treated, or queſtions propounded, and anſwers made.* Bar. Diſc. p. 139. *In that his priviledged Tub, he may ſpeak of what he liſt, none of his auditory have power to call in queſtion, correct, or refuſe the ſame preſently or publickly.*

CCCCC. *Rob. Apol.* p. 38. Prorſus inauditum ante hæc noſtra ſæcula ſive inter gentes, ſive inter Judæos, ſive inter Chriſtianos, ut Judicia publica aliive actus naturæ publicæ privatim aut ſecluſa plebe exercerentur. *Ibid.* p. 51. Per plebem cujus Libertatem & Jus ſuffragandi in negotiis vere publicis aſſerimus, non intelligimus pueros & mulieres, ſed ſolos viros, eoſque adultos.

DDDDD. *Browns* Life and manners of all true Chriſtians, in the Preface, or Treatiſe of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the wickedneſſe of thoſe Preachers which will not reform till the Magiſtrate command or compell them, pag. 8. *Know ye not that they which have their full and ſufficient authority and calling, are not to care for a further authority? And hath not every lawfull Paſtor his full authority?* Ibid. p. 8. *The Lord did not onely ſhew them the Tabernacle, but bade them make it: But theſe men will not make it at all, becauſe they will tarry for the Magiſtrate.* Ibid. pag. 10. *They could not force Religion, as you would have the Magiſtrate to do: And it was forbidden to the Apoſtles to preach to the unworthy, or to force a planting or government in the Church. The Lords Kingdom is not by force, neither durſt Moſes nor any of the Kings of Judah force the people, by Law or by power, to receive the Church-government: But after they received it, if then they fell away, and ſought*

sought not the Lord, they might put them to death. They do cry Discipline, Discipline, that is, for a civill forcing to imprison the people, or otherwise, by violence to handle and beat them, if they would not obey them. Ibid. p. 11. *The Lords people is of the willing sort, they shall come unto* Sion, *and enquire the way unto* Jerusalem, *not by force nor compulsion, but with their faces thitherward: And* pa. 12. *Because the Church is in a Commonwealth, it is of the Magistrates charge, that is, concerning the outward Provision, and outward Justice they are to look; but to compell Religion, to plant Churches by power, and to force a submission to Ecclesiasticall Government, by Laws and Penalties, belongeth not to them, neither yet to the Church.*

EEEEE. Confes. p. 32. *Leaving the suppression of this Antichristian estate to the Magistrate, to whom it belongeth.*

FFFFF. Bar. Refut. In the Preface. *We acknowledge the Prince ought to compell all his Subjects to the hearing of Gods Word, in the publick exercises of the Church; yet cannot the Prince command any to be a Member of the church, or the church to receive any without assurance by their publick profession of their own Faith, or to retain any longer then they continue to walk orderly in the Faith.*

GGGGG. Bar. Disc. pag. 245. *When Princes depart from the Faith, and will not be reduced by admonition or reproof, they are no longer to be held in the faith of the church, but are to receive the censure of Christ, as any other, and to be cut off as withered branches: The church cannot, neither hath in her power to defer the sentence of Excommunication any longer, on hope of further tryall, because they have had already that triall which God alloweth; it is a Leaden rule to proceed to the sentence of Excommunication with a Leaden-heel, when the sin is ripe.* Ibid. pag. 15. *Which censures, if the Prince contemne, he contemneth them against his own soul; and is thereupon, by the power of the church disfranchised out of the Church, and to be delivered over to Satan, as well as any other offender.*

HHHHH. Johnsons Inquir. p. 70. *We hold it Antichristian to entertain or admit any appeal from one church to another; the highest ordained by the Lord for all sinners, is that church whereof the sinner is a member. And therefore, in urging our church to submit to another church, they sought to draw it to Antichristian bondage.*

IIIII. Bar. Disc. pag. 84. *I am perswaded, that the Magistrate ought not to make permanent Laws of that the Lord hath left in our Libertie.* Ibid. p. 255. *We approve all the Laws of God, to be most*

XUM

holy and inviolable, and all-sufficient both for Church and Common-wealth, and the perfect instruction of every Member and Officer of the same, in their severall duties, so that nothing is now left to any mortall man of what high dignity and calling soever, but to execute the will of God according to his Word.

KKKKK. Bar. Disc. p. 108. *God will have his Laws and Statutes kept, and not altered according to the State and Policy of times; for these Laws were made, not for the Jews estate, as Master* Calvin *teaches; but for all mankinde, especially for all the* Israel *of God, from which Laws it is not lawfull in judgement to decline to the right hand, or to the left. By the neglect of these Laws, the whole world overflows with sin.* Ibid. p. 212. *In the Common-wealth they have abrogated all Gods Judiciall Laws, and cut them off at one blow, as made for the Common-wealth of the Jews onely, as if God had no regard of the conversation of other Christians, or had left the Gentiles in greater liberty to make Laws and Customes to themselves.*

LLLLL. Ibid. *Hereby it cometh to passe that so many ungodly Laws are decreed, and the whole course of Justice perverted, that so many capitall mischiefs as God punisheth by death, such as blaspheme the Name of the Lord, open idolatry, Disobedience to Parents, are not by Law punished at all: Incest and Adultery, are either past over, or punished by some light or trifling punishment.* Ibid. pa. 155. *The* High-Commission *punishes the most execrable Idolatries but with prisons or forfeitures, making it a pecuniary matter, contrary to Gods Word.*

MMMMM. 1. Vide *HHHH*.

MMMMM. 2. Bar. Dis. p. 211. *Theft, if above thirteen pence, is punished by death.*

NNNNN. Bar. Dis. p. 55. *The Universities of* Oxford *and* Cambridge *have the same Popish and Idolatrous beginning with the Colledges of Monks, Fryers and Nuns: and these Vermin had, and still do retain the same insufferable and incurable abuses; therefore Queen* Elizabeth *ought by good right to abolish them as her Progenitors did the Abbeyes.*

OOOOO. Ibid. p. 177. *They repair to the Universities to be instructed in Heathen and vain Arts: The churches of Christ have not such Heathenish and Idolatrous customes; they have no such prophane Arts, vain Education and Literature.* Ibid. p. 56. *We finde them all generally the seed of Unbelievers, nourished in all manner of Prophaneness, Heathenism, vain and ungodly Sciences; their Education from their cradle is ungodly in the common Schools, where they must learn their Greek and Latin*

Latin from lascivious Poets or heathenish Philosophers: With this Liquor are their Pitchers at first seasoned; there are they trained up in Logick, Rhetorick and Philosophy; which Learning they draw from Aristotle, Cicero, and such like; there they learn to speak by Art Syllogisms and Tropes.

Idem. Refut. p. 89. *This I dare affirm, that from the Book of God, they never derived these their Colledges, Schools, Halls, Orders and Degrees; that I may not say Arts, Authors, Exercise, use of Learning, Disputations, Commencements. They fight with their School-Learning, vain Arts, Philosophy, Rhetorick, Logick, against the Truth and Servants of God.*

PPPPP. Vide supra. N, O.

QQQQQ. Vide RRRRR. 2.

RRRRR 1. Bar. Dis. p. 179. *In the Church of Christ, the name and offices of Chancelour, Vicechancelour, Dean of Faculty, Master of Colledges, Fellows, Beadles, Bursours, and all their severall Statutes and Customes are strange; as also, their manner of Degrees, Disputing for their Degrees, and Order of Teaching: Neither have any such Universities, Colledges, Society of Scholars, any ground of the Word of God. I see not why they should have any more toleration then their elder Brethren, the Monks, who every way had as great colour of Holinesse, and shew of Utilitie to the Church, as they: they have all one and the same Hellish Original they had: and they still retain the same blasphemous incurable abuses, which can no ways be reformed but by their utter dissolution.*

RRRRR 2. Bar. Dis. p. 177. *The English of Christian Religion, and Profession of the Gospel, I can well away with; but this English Romish abstract of Divinity, I am assured, came forth of this same forge that the Title of the supream Head of the Church; and cannot by all the glosses they can devise, be made other then most high blasphemy against the person of Christ, who is the onely Universall Doctor of all his Disciples.* Ibid. p. 56. *If they continue still, and give their minde to the study of Divinity as they call it, which is as much as to say, The reading of mens writings; with these Feathers they fly, with these Eyes they see; which Books being taken from them, they are as mute as fish, as blinde as moles.* Ibid. *Their Divinity is traditionall, wholly derived from other mens Books and Writings, both for the understanding, dividing, and interpretation of all Scripture; as also for all Questions, Doctrines and Doubts that arise; and not springing from the Fountain of Gods Spirit in themselves, according to the measure of Knowledge, Faith and Grace given unto them.*

XUM

SSSSS. Bar. Disc. p. 146. *It were much better for the whole Church, that for Prophecy and Doctrine, Preachers would lay aside all Authors, and betake themselves wholly to the Book of God: So should that Book be more soundly understood, so should they see with their own eyes, and not other mens.*

TTTTT. Bar. Disc. p. 56. *These Questions, as also the whole Scripture, must in these their Schools and Disputations, be insufferably corrupted, wrested, blasphemed, according to the lusts of these Philosophicall and Heathen Disputers, which here must handle, divide, discusse, according to their vain affected Arts of Logick and Rhetorick: All these prizes must be played in Latin, that the Learning may the more, and the Folly the lesse be perceived, lest even the common people should hisse them off the Stage if they spoke in English.* Ibid. p. 52. *They give liberty to their wits in their learning to deface, strive, and dispute against the holy known Truth of God, tossing it as a Tenice-Ball among them, both publickly in their Schools, and privately in their Colledges amongst them.*

VVVVV. Bar. Refut. pag. 124. *I would not here that any should think we condemn any lawfull Art, or any necessarie Science, or any Holy Exercise, or Schools of Institution. Let their Arts and Sciences be necessarie and godly, not vain, curious, unlawfull: Let them be taught, not in a vain-glorious or superstitious manner, but in all sobriety, and the fear of God; If their Universities were framed to these Rules, it were good.*

CHAP.

Chap. III.

The Original and Progresse of the Independents, *and of their Carriage in* New-England.

THe Sect (if so without offence it may be called) which this day is the subject of the most discourse, and the object of the greatest passions; some pouring out upon it more of their love and hope, others of their anger and fear, then were convenient, is that of *Independency*.

Independency the smallest of all the Sects of the time for number, but greatest for worth of its followers.

Of all the by-paths wherein the wanderers of our time are pleased to walk, this is the most considerable; not for the number, but for the quality of the erring persons therein. There be few of the noted Sects which are not a great deal more numerous; but this Way, what it wants in number, supplies by the weight of its followers. After five yeers endeavours and great industry within the Lines of the Cities Communication, they are said as yet to consist much within One thousand persons; men, women, and all who to this day have put themselves in any known Congregation of that way, being reckoned. But setting aside number, for other respects they are of so eminent a condition, that not any nor all the rest of the Sects are comparable to them; for they have been so wise as to engage to their party some of chief note, in both Houses of Parliament, in the Assembly of Divines, in the Army, in the City and Countrey-Committees; all whom they daily manage with such dexterity and diligence, for the benefit of their Cause, that the eyes of the world begin to fall upon them more then upon all their fellows: It will be requisite therfore that with the greater care we give an account of them.

Of this our Account there shall be three parts. The first, An History of their Original and Progresse, to that height wherein now they stand. The second, A Narrative of their Tenents. The third, A Confutation of some of their prime Principles.

The division of the following matter.

Concerning their Original; the Separatists were their Fathers. This is demonstrable, not onely by the consanguinity of their Tenents, the one having borrowed all their chief Doctrines and

Independents the Separatists off-spring.

XUM

Practices from the other, but also by deduction of their Pedegree in this clear line.

Master *Robinson* did derive his way to his separate Congregation at *Leyden*; a part of them did carry it over to *Plymouth* in *New-England*; here Master *Cotton* did take it up, and transmit it from thence to Master *Thomas Goodwin*, who did help to propagate it to sundry others in *Old-England* first, and after, to more in *Holland*, till now by many hands it is sown thick in divers parts of this Kingdom. But the manner how this seed did grow, is not unworthy consideration.

When the fire of *Brownisme* was dying out in *Holland*, a little of its ashes carried to *New-England*, broke out here into a lasting flame.

When the Separatists for whole Fifty yeers had over-toil'd themselves for little purpose, their horrible Divisions, wheresoever they set up, marring their encrease; behold, at the very point of time when their *Spunk* was dying, and their little smoke, both at *Amsterdam* and *Leyden*, was well-neer vanished, God in his secret providence permitted the tyranny of Bishops, which first had begotten them, to put new life in their ashes, and bring them back from their grave, to that vigour wherein now they appear.

After the death of *Ainsworth*, the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam* came to a small unconsiderable handfull, and so yet they remain. No other at that time in the whole world were known of that Religion, but a small company at *Leyden*, under Master *Robinsons* Ministery; which, partly by Divisions among themselves, and partly by their Pastors deserting many of their Principles, was well-neer brought to nought: Onely about the Twenty eighth, as I take it, or the Thirtieth yeer of this Age, some of them going over, for a more commodious habitation, to *New-England*, did perswade their neighbours who sate down with them there at *New-Plymouth*, to erect with them a Congregation after their separate way (*A*).

By what means these ashes were kindled.

This Congregation did incontinent leaven all the vicinity. The Planters in *New-England*, so far as their own informations give notice, not minding Religion for many yeers after their first enterp ise (*B*), were ready to receive, without great question, any pious form which might be prefented by their neighbours, whose mind served them to be active in such matters. Also that way of *New-Plymouth*, beside the more then ordinary shew of devotion, did hold out so much liberty and honour to the people, that

that made it very ſuitable & lovely to a multitude who had lately ſtepped out of the Epiſcopall thraldome in *England*, to the free aire of a new world. However it was without any noiſe in a few yeers, the moſt who ſetled their habitations in that Land, did agree to model themſelves in Churches after *Robinſons* patern.

This for a time, was either not known, or not regarded in *England*. The firſt who appeared in any diſpleaſure at it, was Mr. *Cotton*; for this reverend man, howſoever he had faln off from the practiſe of ſome, and but of ſome of the ceremonies, and was diſtaſted with Epiſcopall government, yet ſo long as he abode in *England*, minded no more then the old non-conformity: In all his oppoſition to the Epiſcopal corruptions, he went not beyond *Cartwright* and the Presbyterians. With the way of the Separatiſts he was then well acquainted, but declared himſelf againſt it in print, as in his Preface to Maſter *Hilderſhams* Sermons upon *John*, may be ſeen to this day (*C*). Neither thus alone, but a very little before his voyage to *New-England*, ſo ſoon as he underſtood of the prevailing of *Robinſons* way there, ſuch was his zeal againſt it, he wrote over to the Miniſters who had been the chief inſtruments of bringing theſe Churches under that yoke, admoniſhing them freely of their falling from their former judgement, and that their new Reformation was no other but the old way wherein the Separatiſts had walked, to the grief and offence of the Anti-Epiſcopall party in *England*, and of the whole Proteſtant Churches (*D*).

Mr. *Cotton* at firſt a great oppoſite to that way.

Notwithſtanding this admonition, the Brethren there went on in their way, yet without any hazard to others, till the 1634. as I take it, or 1635 year of our Lord, when the yoke of Epiſcopall perſecution in *England* became ſo heavie on the necks of the moſt of the godly, that many thouſands of them did flee away, and Mr. *Cotton* among the reſt, to joyn themſelves to theſe *American* Churches. Here it was when that new way began firſt to be dangerous to the reſt of the World.

Mr. *Cotton* with little ado, became the great Patron of that Errour.

For Maſter *Cotton*, a man of very excellent parts, contrary much to his former judgement, having faln into a liking of it; and by his great wit and learning, having refined it, without the impediment of any oppoſition, became the great inſtrument of drawing to it, not onely the thouſands of thoſe who left *England*, but alſo by his letters to his friends who abode in their Countrey, made

made it become lovely to many who never before had appeared in the least degree of affection toward it.

Mr. *Cotton* the misleader of Mr. *Goodwin* and others.

Before his departure from *England*, by conferences in *London*, he had brought off Master *Davenport* and Master *Goodwin*, from some of the *English* Ceremonies (*E*); but neither of these two, nor himself at that time, did minde the least degree of Separation (*F*); yet so soon as he did taste of the *New-English* air, he fell into so passionate an affection with the Religion he found there, that incontinent he began to perswade it, with a great deal more zeal and successe then before he had opposed it (*G*): His Convert Master *Goodwin*, a most fine and dainty spirit, with very little ado, was brought by his Letters from *New-England*, to follow him unto this step also of his progresse, and that with so high an estimation of his New Light, that he was bold to boast of it in termes a little beyond the lines of moderation (*H*.)

Master *Cotton* often deceived, hath given his patrociny to divers grosse Errours.

It had been happy for *England*, that Master *Cotton* had taken longer time for deliberation, before that change of his minde: He might have remembred his too precipitant rathnesse in former times, both to receive, and to send abroad to the World such Tenents whereof after he had cause to repent.

Why God permits great men to fall in evident Errours.

God in wisdom permits his deareſt children to set black marks on their own faces, not onely to keep themselves in humility and suspention of their own hearts, but to divert others from idolizing their gifts, and setting up their persons as a pattern for their too sudden imitation. I would not willingly detract from any mans reputation; I am oft ready enough both to hear with contentment, and liberally to speak to the praises of men much inferiour in my thoughts to Master *Cotton*: Yet when his gifts are turned into snares, when they become occasions of stumbling, and, contrary to the minde of the giver, are made enducement to follow him in his wanderings; I am of opinion, that neither Piety nor Charity will hinder to remark his evident and known failings: That as his eminent endowments are strong invitations to run after him; so the mixture of clear weakneſse may be a retractive to every prudent man, and a caveat from God, to beware of his wayes, as well as of any other mans.

I take it for a great mercy of God to simple ones, that the most, if not all, who have offered themselves to be ringleaders in any Heresie or Schism, or other by-way, have ever bin permitted to fall into some

some evident folly; to the end, that they whose simplicity made them too prone to be milled by the strength of pregnant wits, and the lustre of excellent gifts, which in the most of Sectaries to this day, have ever been apparent, might be held in the love of the truth, and made cautious of being led aside by them in whose footsteps a very blunt eye might perceive the print of an evill spirit.

Not to speak of Master *Cottons* long continuance in the Errours of his education, sundry whereof stuck to him as he confesseth all the time of his abode in *England* (*I*): Nor of his more dangerous fall into the gulf of Pelagianisme, some of the *Arminian* Errours, from which the writings of D. *Twisse* are said to have reclaimed him (*K*); However, the Doctor doth say, that he hath no assurance of his recantation to this day, and therefore was willing that his Treatise against Master *Cottons* erroneous writings should be published to the world. To passe by also that which I have heard of some gracious Ministers of his old *Montanisme*, wherein some think he remaineth to this day. His Prelatic *Arminian* and *Montanistic* Tenents.

That which I point at, is, another more dangerous fall, which as already it hath much humbled his spirit, and opened his eare to instruction, and I trust it will not leave working till it have brought him yet nearer to his brethren: So to the worlds end, it cannot but be a matter of fear and trembling, to all who shall know it, and of abundant caution to be very wary of receiving any singular article from his hand without due triall. That which I speak of, is, his wandring into the horrible Errours of the *Antinomians* and *Familists*, with his deare friend Mistresse *Hutchinson*; so far, that he came to a resolution to side with her, and separate from all the Churches in *New England*, as legall Synagogues. His *Antin* and *Familis*

The truth of this horrible fall, if ye will not take it from the parties themselves, the followers of Mistresse *Hutchinson*, who oft times were wont to brag of Master *Cotton* for their Master and Patron (*L*); not from the testimonie of Master *Williams* (*M*), who had as much occasion to know it as any man else: and if I mistake not the humour of the man, is very unwilling to report a lie of his greatest enemie. Yet we may not reject the witnesse of Master *Winthrop*, the wisest of all the *New English* Governours hitherto, and of Master *Wels*, a gracious Minister of that Land, in their printed relations of the Schisms there; both these, albeit,

with all care and ſtudy they endeavour to ſave Maſter *Cottons* credit, yet let the truth of Maſter *Cottons* ſeduction fall from their Pens in ſo clear termes as cannot be avoided: for, however, what they ſpeak of the erring of the moſt eminent in place, might be applyed to the Governour for the time (*N* 1.): Yet when they tell us, that the moſt of the Seducers lived in the Church of *Boſton*; and that the whole Church of *Boſton*, except a few, were infected with that Leproſie; and that none of them were ever called to an account by the Presbyterie of that Church till after the Aſſembly, though the Paſtor of that Church, Maſter *Wilſon*, was alwaies exceedingly zealous againſt them: alſo that in face of the generall Court, Miſtreſſe *Hutchinſon* did avow Maſter *Cotton* alone, and Maſter *Wheelwright*, to preach the truth according to her minde; and that Maſter *Cotton* himſelfe, before that ſame Court did openly diſſent, even after the Aſſembly, from all his Brethren about *Wheelwrights* Doctrine. Theſe, and other the like informations, are ſo clear, that no art will get Maſter *Cotton* freed (*N* 2.)

I have been alſo informed by a gracious Preacher, who was preſent at the Synod of *New England*; that all the Brethren there, being exceedingly ſcandalized with Maſter *Cottons* carriage, in Miſtreſſe *Hutchinſons* Proceſſe, did ſo far diſcountenance, and ſo ſeverely admoniſh him, that he was thereby brought to the greateſt ſhame, confuſion, and grief of minde that ever in all his life he had endured. But leaving the perſon of Maſter *Cotton*, if not the Author, yet the greateſt promoter and Patron of Independency, we will go on with the way it ſelf.

Independency as large, as unhappy as Browniſme.

What Maſter *Cotton*, and the Apologiſts, his followers, have teſtified of Gods diſpleaſure and judgements upon the way of the Browniſts (*O*), is as evidently true of the way of the Independents; not onely becauſe, as it will appear hereafter, both wayes really are one and the ſame: But alſo, becauſe in the compariſon of the events which have befaln to both wayes, it will be ſeen that the miſcarriages, and (becauſe of them) the marks of Gods anger have been more manifeſt upon this latter way then upon the former.

Independency brought to the utmoſt pitch of perfection, which the wit and induſtrie of its beſt Patrons were able to attain, having the advantage of the Browniſts fatall miſcarriages, to be

exemplary

exemplary documents of wisdome, being also assisted and fenced with all the security that Civil Laws of its friends one framing, and gracious Magistrates at their absolute devotion, could afford; notwithstanding in a very few, lesse then one week of years, hath flown out in more shamful absurdities then the *Brownists* to this day, in all the fifty years of their triall, have stumbled upon.

Wherefore so much of the Independent way lies yet in darknesse.

The verity of this broad assertion shall be palpable to any who will be at the pains a little to consider their proceedings in any of the places whereever yet they had any setled abode: for however much of their way be yet in the dark, and in this also their advantage above the *Brownists* is great; that in their Discords none of themselves have proclaimed their owne shame; none that have fallen from them, have on purpose put pen to paper, to inform the world of their ways; neither have any of them been willing to reply to any of the Books written against them, that did put a necessity upon them to speak out the truth of many heavy imputations which with a loud voice by many a tongue are laid on them, chusing rather to lie under the hazard of all the reproach which their unfriends reports could bring upon them, then to make an Apology, wherein their denial might bring upon them the infamy of lying, or their grant the fastning, by their own testimony, upon the back of their party the crimes alledged against them. Notwithstanding so much is broken out from under all their coverings, as will make good what hath been said. Hitherto they have had but three places of abode, *New-England*, *Holland*, *London*. That any where else they have erected Congregations, I doe not know. Of their adventures in these three places, we will speak a little.

The fruits of Independency in *New-England*.

In *New-England*, when Master *Cotton* had gotten the assistance of Master *Hooker*, Master *Davenport*, and sundry other very worthy Ministers, beside many thousands of people whom God in his mercy did send over to that new world, to be freed from suffering and danger, in the day of their Countreys most grievous calamities; being there alone, without the disturbance of any enemy either within or without, what were the fruits of their Church-way?

1. It put thousands of Christians in the condition of Pagans.

First, it forced them to hold out of all Churches and Christian Congregations, many thousands of people who in former times had been reputed in *Old-England* very good Christians. I

have heard ſundry eſteem the number of the *Engliſh* in that plantation to exceed Fourty thouſand men and women: when Maſter *Cotton* is put to it, he dares hardly avow the one half of theſe to be members of any Church (P): But if wee doe beleeve others who were eye-witneſſes alſo, they do avow, That of all who are there, Three parts of Four will not be in any Church (Q 1.). To us it ſeemeth a grievous abſurdity, a great diſhonour to God, and cruelty againſt men, to ſpoil ſo many thouſand Chriſtians, whom they dare not deny to be truly religious, of all the priviledges of the Church, of all the benefits of Diſcipline, of all the comfort of any Sacrament, either to themſelves, or to their children to put them in the condition of Pagans, ſuch as ſome of them profeſſe all Proteſtants to be who are not of their way (Q 2.)

2. It marrs the converſion of Pagans to the Chriſtian Religion.

A ſecond evill of their Way, is, That it hath exceedingly hindred the converſion of the poor Pagans; God in great mercy having opened a door in theſe laſt times to a new world of reaſonable creatures to this end, above all, that the Goſpel might be preached to them for the enlargement of the Kingdom of Chriſt, The principles and practice of the *Independents*, doth croſſe this bleſſed hope. What have they to do with thoſe that are without? Their paſtors preach not for converſion, their relation is to their Flock, who are Church-members, converted already to their hand by the labours of other men, before they can be admitted into their Church.

Of all that ever croſſed the *American* Seas, they are noted as moſt neglectfull of the work of Converſion. I have read of none of them that ſeem to have minded this matter (Q 3.) onely Maſter *Williams* in the time of his baniſhment from among them, did aſſay what could be done with thoſe deſolate ſouls, and by a little experience quickly did finde a wonderfull great facility to gain thouſands of them to ſo much and more Chriſtianity, both in profeſſion and practice, then in the moſt of our people doth appear (R). But the unhappineſſe of theſe principles whereof we ſpeak, did keep him, as he Profeſſeth, from making uſe of that great opportunity and large door which the Lord there hath opened to all who will be zealous for propagating of the Goſpel S).

3. It did bring forth the foulleſt Hereſies that ever yet were heard of in any Proteſtant Church.

Thirdly, the fruits of *Independency* may be ſeen in the profeſſion and practices of the moſt who have been admitted, as very fit,

fit; if not the fittest members of their Churches. These have much exceeded any of the *Brownists* that yet we have heard of: first, in the vilenesse of their Errours; secondly, in the multitude of the erring persons; thirdly, in the hypocrisie joyned with their errours; fourthly, in malice against their neighbours, and contempt of their Superiours, Magistrates and Ministers for their opposition to them in their evill ways; and lastly, in their singular obstinacie, stiffly sticking unto their errours, in defiance of all that any upon earth could do for their reclaiming, or that God from heaven, almost miraculously, had declared against them. All this I will make good, by the unquestionable Testimonies of their loving friends.

A few examples of the many abominable Heresie of the *New-English* Independents.

For the vilenesse of their Errours: They did avow openly the personall inhabitation of the Spirit in all the godly, his immediate revelations without the Word; and these as infallible as Scripture it self (*T*); This is the vilest *Montanism*. They avowed further, with the grossest *Antinomians*, That no sin must trouble any childe of God: That all trouble of conscience for any sin demonstrates a man subject to the Covenant of Works, but a stranger to the Covenant of Grace (*V*): That no Christian is bound to look upon the Law as a rule of his conversation (*X*): That no Christian should be prest to any duty of holinesse (*Y*). Neither here did they stand, but went on to aver the death of the soul with the body (*Z*) That all the Saints upon earth have two bodies (*AA*:) That Christ is not united to our fleshly body; but they would have him to be united to our new body (*BB*), with the same union wherewith his humanity is united with his Godhead: That Christs Manhood was not now in the heavens (*CC*), but that his body was his Church. These abominable errours, and many more of this kind, to the number of Fourscore and eleven (*DD*), the *New-English* Independency did produce to the world in a very short time.

The greatest part of their chief Churches were infected with these errours.

For the second, The number of the erring persons; this is said to have beene incredible; not onely multitudes of men and women every where were infected (*EE*), but almost no Society, no Family of that Land was free of that Pest (*FF*): *Boston*, the best and most famous of their Churches, was so far corrupted, that few there were untainted (*GG*).

The piety of these Heretick seemed to be singular

Concerning the Hypocrisie of these Hereticks, it was exceeding

ceeding great: None appeared so humble, so holy, so spiritual, and full of Christ, as they (*HH*); In their speech, nought but self-deniall (*II*): In their prayers, ravishing affection, and heavenly expressions (*KK*): All their singular opinions, were for the advancing of Free-grace (*LL*); for the glorious light of the Gospel; for the setting up of naked Christ on his Throne (*MM*).

Their malice against al who opposed them, was singular, especially against all their Orthodox Ministers,

Their malice towards all that dissented from them, was so extream, that they made the life of many, the most religious of their Neighbours, to be bitter and a wearisome burden to them (*NN*).

For their Ministers, some of them they adored: Master *Cotton* and Master *Wheelwright*, they set up as the onely true Preachers of the Covenant of Grace; they extolled them to the skies, avowing, that since the Apostles days, none had received so much Gospel-Light, as they (*OO*): But the rest of the Preachers, not onely all in Old-*England* (*PP*), but also all in *New-England*, except a very few, and most of all the best, the most zealous and Orthodox, even the instruments of their own conversion, were to them *Baals* Priests, Legall Preachers, Popish Factors, Scribes and Pharisees, Enemies to the Gospel, void of the Spirit of Grace (*QQ*).

nd Magi-rates.

Their contempt of the Magistrates was as great as of the Ministers: Their late Governour they professed was a true friend to Christ, and Free-grace (*RR*); but Master *Winthrop* their present Governor, and the most of the Magistrates, they proclaimed enemies of Grace, Persecutors, Antichrists, *Ahabs*, *Herods*, *Pilates*, whom God would destroy (*SS*). Their Preacher, Master *Wheelwright*, would exhort the people in his Sermon, to deal with the Magistrates as such remembring them how *Moses* had killed the *Egyptian* (*TT*).

heir Errours opinion did raw on such ditious pra-ises, as did el neer over-rn both their hurch and ate.

Their Heresies did bring on so dangerous seditions, as in a short time did put their common-wealth in a clear hazard of utter ruine (*VV*); for the Heretikes had drawn to their side, not onely multitudes of the people, but many of the ablest men for parts, in all Trades, especially the Souldiers (*XX*). They kept such intimate familiarity, and open correspondence with the most eminent men of the Land; Mistresse *Hutchinson*, and the late Governour, kept almost everyday so private and long discourse with Master *Cotton*, that made them conclude all was their own (*YY*),

and

and forced the wise Governour Master *Winthrop*, to prevent their designes, to put the former Governour, and all that followed him, from their places in the generall Court, and to desire him & the n to be gone, which was counted a reall, though a civill banishment out of their Land (*ZZ*): Also to disarm the most of that faction expresly upon fear, lest the Tragedy of *Munster* should be acted over again in *New-England* (*AAA*).

Master *Williams* told me, that he was imployed to buy from the Savages, for the late Governour, and Master *Cotton*, with their followers, a proportion of Land without the English Plantation, whither they might retire and live according to their own mind, exempt from the Jurisdiction, Civill, and Ecclesiastick, of all others. M. *Williams* was in so great friendship with that late Governour, when he told me so much, that I believe he would have been loth to have spoken any untruth of him.

Their proud obstinacy against all admonitions was marvellous.

Their obstinacy in all these things was truly marvellous; for after all the pains which their godly Pastors took upon them, in Preaching, in Conference, in Publick Disputations: After the Magistrate had executed the Law, and inflicted civil punishments upon some of their prime Seducers; yea, when God visibly from the Heavens had declared his anger against some of their chief Leaders, punishing Mistresse *Hutchinson* with a monstrous birth of more then thirty mis-shapen creatures at one time (*BBB*), and Mistresse *Dyer* her principall assistant, with another monstrous birth (*CCC*) of one creature, mixed of a Beast, of a Fish, and a Fowl: Notwithstanding all these admonitions, their obstinacy was so great that many of them continued pertinacious without any repentance (*DDD*).

For some of them separating of their own accord, others being banished by the Magistrate, retired into those Lands which Master *Williams* had bought for them; and in that their new Habitation they continued not long; till beside all the named errours, they fell into many more, both Errours and Schisms (*EEE*).

And Mistresse *Hutchinson* did make a new Separation, retiring to a new dwelling (*FFF*) where after her long contempt of divine and humane patience, at last God did let loose his hand, and destroyed her, sending in upon her a comany of the Savages, who burnt her self, her house, and all that she had (*GGG*). Notwithstanding

withstanding all that God & man at that time & since hath done to discover the evill spirit that raged in that way, yet such is the stoutnesse of many, especially of the late Governour, whose hand in all that businesse was chief, that to this day if you will confer with them, they will assure, That Mistresse *Hutchinson* was much mistaken and wronged; that she was a most pious woman, and that her Tenents, if well understood, were all true, at least very tolerable. We have oft marvelled, that the Eldership of *Boston* did never so much as call her before them to be rebuked for any of her Errours; though their generall Assembly had confuted & condemned them, yet still she was permitted to go on, till the zeal of the new Governour, and the generall Court did condemn her to perpetuall banishment; then, and not till then, so far as we can perceive by the story, did the Church of *Boston* begin a processe against her; and when the processe was brought to an end, Master *Cotton* by no meanes would put it in execution; that burden was laid on the back of Master *Wilson* his Colleague, however not the fittest instrument, being the person to whom Mistresse *Hutchinson* from the beginning had professed her greatest opposition; and when the sentence was pronounced against her, they tell us, that the great cause of it was none of her Heresies or Errours, but her other practises especially, her grosse lying (*HHH*).

In the midst of their profession of eminent piety, the profanity of many of them was great.

The prophaneness also of these persons is considerable, their profession of piety being so fair, that they avow their standing aloof from all the Reformed Churches as unclean, because of their mixture with the prophane multitude. Beside all that is said of their Heresies, Schisms, Contentions, Contempt of Magistrates and Ministers, all which are the prophane works of the flesh: We read of further pollution, breaking out among them, as both Master *Cotton*, and Master *Welds* do testifie (*III*).

Out of the Governour Master *Winthrops* Narration, I remark one abomination, which to me seems strange, That the Midwives to their most zealous women, should not onely have familiarity with the devill; but also in that very service should commit devillish Malefices, which, so far as they tell us, were not only past over without punishment, but never so much as inquired after (*KKK*).

All this and more, we read of the Independents in *New-England*, in one short Narration of two or three yeers accidents among

among them; what if we had their full History from any faithfull hand? it seems that many more mysteries would be brought to light, which now are hid in darknesse.

Notwithstanding all this, we desire from our heart, to honour and imitate all and every degree of Truth or Piety, which did ever appear in any *New-English* Christian.

It is not our intention to bring any man to a prejudice, or the least distaste of the grace and gifts which God hath bestowed on Master *Cotton*, or any other in *New-England*: would to God, that all our Questions with them, were come to that issue; they should finde us here as willing as their greatest admirers, to prize, to embrace, and as our weaknesse will permit, to imitate what ever good did shine in any of them: But we have made these Observations from what themselves have written, to bring if it be possible, their own hearts; or if this be desperate, yet the mindes of others, to a suspition of that their new and singular way, which the Lord hath so manifestly cursed with more bad fruits, and greater store of them then ever yet did appear upon the Tree of Brownism, which they do so much disgrace as an unlucky Plant: notwithstanding, all the gifts and graces wherewith *Ainsworth*, *Robinson*, and some others of its Branches, have been adorned by God in as rich a measure as have been seen in any, who to this day have ingrafted themselves into their new and bitter root of Independency.

The Testimonies.

(A) Master Cottons Letter to Skelton, p. 3. *Your other Errour that our Congregations in* England, *are none of them particular Reformed Churches, requireth rather a Book then a Letter to answer it. You went hence of another judgement, and I am afraid, your change hath sprung from* New Plymouth *men, whom though I much esteem as godly loving Christians; yet their Grounds, which for this Tenent they received from Master* Robinson, *doe not satisfie me, though the man I reverence as godly and learned.*

To Rathbones Narration, pag. 1. *The Church at* New-Plymouth *was as I am informed, one of the first Churches that was setled in* New-England, *having been a part of Master* Robinsons *Church in* Holland, *that famous* Browniſt, *from whence they brought with their Church Opinions and Practises; and which they there still*

hold without any alteration, so far as ever I could learn. Master W. an eminent man of the Church at Plimouth, *told* W. R. *that the rest of the Churches of* New-England *came at first to them at* Plimouth, *to crave their direction in Church courses, and made them their pattern.*

(B) *Vide Purchase* Pilgrims in his discourses of *America*, in divers Letters from *New-England.*

(C) *Cottons* Letter to the Reader before *Hildersham's* Commentary upon *John*, 1632. That one Letter of his to a Gentlewoman against the Separation, which without his consent a Separatist Printed, and Refuted, hath so strongly and clearly convinced the Iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowledge in it, both the wisedom of God, and the weakness of the Separatists: His wisdom in bringing to light such a beam of his Truth by the hand of an adversary, against the minde of the Author; and the weakness of the other, to advance the hand of this Adversary, to give himself and his cause such a deadly wound in open view, as neither himself nor all his associates can be able to heal; in which respect, I conceive it was that the industrious Dr *Willet* stileth this our Author, *Schismaticorum qui vulgo Brownij vocantur Malleus:* The Hammer of Schismaticks whom they commonly call Brownists.

(D) *Vide supra.* A.

(E) *Edwards Antapology*, p. 17. Knowing something of the story of Master *Goodwins* first coming to fall off from the Ceremonies, having seen and perused the Arguments that past betwixt him and Master *Cotton*, and some others: Master *Goodwin* assured me some moneths after his going off, that he had nothing to say, but against the Ceremonies the Liturgy offended him not, much lesse dreamed he of this Church-way he since fell into.

(F) Cottons *Letter from* New-England *to his friends at* Boston, Octob. 5. 1635. *Some other things there be, which were I again with you, I durst not take that liberty which sometimes I have taken: I durst not joyn in your Book-Prayers.*

(G) Ibidem. *I durst not now partake in the Sacraments with you, though the Ceremonies were removed. I know not how you can be excused from Fellowship of their sins, if you continue in your place. While you and some of my other friends continue with them, I fear the rest will settle upon their Lees with more securitie. The wise-hearted that*

hath left their Stations in Iſrael, *I doubt not, were ſome of them, if not all, uſefull and ſerviceable men in their places; yet they did themſelves and their Brethren more good ſervice in going before their Brethren, as the Goats before the Flocks,* Jerem. 50. 8. *then if they had tarried with them to the corrupting of their own wayes.* 2 Chron. 11. 14, 16.

Antap. pag. 32. *After his going into* New-England, *and falling into the Church-way there, and ſending over Letters into* England *about the new way, preſently after theſe Letters began the falling off and queſtioning Communion in our Churches.*

(H) Antap. p. 32. *One of you, to wit, Maſter* Goodwin, *was ſo ingaged in his thoughts of one of the Miniſters of* New-England, *to wit, Maſter* Cotton, *by whom I am ſure, he was firſt taken off, that he hath ſaid, there was not ſuch another man in the world again.*

Ibid. p. 22. *One of you told ſome friends, that he had found out a Form of Church-Government, as far beyond Maſter* Cartwrights, *as his was beyond that of the Biſhops.*

Maſter Williams Examination *of Maſter* Cottons *Letter,* pa. 47. *Some of the moſt eminent amongſt them have affirmed, that even the Apoſtles Churches were not ſo pure, as the new Engliſh Churches.*

(I) Vide ſupra. F.

(K) Antap. p. 40. *He hath had his Errours, and I refer you for proof to his diſcourſe about clearing the Doctrine of Reprobation. See the* Preface *of Doctor* Twiſſe *his Anſwer.*

(L) *The ſhort Story in the* Preface, par. 10. *What men they ſaw Eminent in the Countrey, and of moſt eſteem in the hearts of the people, they would be ſure ſtill to father their opinions upon them, and ſay, I hold nothing but what I had from ſuch and ſuch a man.*

Ibid. pa. 65. *She pretended ſhe was of Maſter* Cottons *judgement in all things.*

(M) Williams Examination, p. 12. *Some few yeers ſince he was upon the point to ſeparate from the Churches there, as legal.*

Ibid. p. 33. *How could I poſſibly be ignorant as he ſeems to charge me, of their eſtate, when being from firſt to laſt in Fellowſhip with them, an Officer amongſt them, had private and publick agitations concerning their eſtate with all or moſt of their Miniſters.*

(N) *Short ſtory,* Preface, pag. 7. *By this time they had to patroniſe them, ſome of the Magiſtrates, and ſome men eminent for Religion, Parts, and Wit.*

Ibid. p. 25. *Master* Wheelwright *had taught them, that the former Governour and some of the Magistrates then were friends of Christ and Free-grace, but the present were enemies. The former Governour never stirred out but attended by the Serjeants with Halberts or Carrabines, but the present Governour was neglected.*

Ibid. pag. 35. *After that she had drawn some of eminent place, and parts, to her party, whereof some profited so well as in a few moneths they out-went their* Teacher.

Ibidem, pag. 33. *Upon the countenance which it took from some eminent persons, her opinions began to hold up their heads in the* Court *of Justice.*

(N 2.) Ibidem, pag. 32. *It was a wonder, upon what a sudden the whole* Church *of* Boston, *some few excepted, were become her new converts, and infected with her opinions.*

Ibid. Preface, pag. 7. *In the* Church *of* Boston *most of these Seducers lived.*

Ibid. p. 36. *The* Court *laid to her charge, the reproach she had cast upon the Ministery in this Countrey, saying, That none of them did preach the* Covenant *of Free-grace but Master* Cotton. *She told them that there was a wide difference between Master* Cottons *Ministery and theirs, and that they could not hold forth a* Covenant *of Free-grace, because they had not the Seal of the Spirit.*

Ibidem pag. 50. *All the Ministers consented to this, except their Brother the* Teacher *of* Boston. Ibid. pag. 52. *Master* Wheelwright *being present, spoke nothing, though he well discerned that the judgement of the most of the Magistrates, and near all the Ministers closed with the affirmative.* Ibidem, pag. 21. *Albeit, the Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned most of these new opinions, and Master* Cotton *had in publick view consented with the rest; yet the Leaders in these Erroneous wayes, stood still to maintain their new Light; Master* Wheelwright *also continued his preaching after his former manner; and Mistresse* Hutchinson *her wonted meetings and exercises; and much offence was still given by her, and others, in going out of the ordinary Assemblies. When (Master* Wilson) *the Pastor of* Boston *began any exercise, it was conceived by the Magistrate that the case was now desperate, and it was determined to suppresse them by Civill Authority.*

(O) Apologetical Narration, pag. 5. *We had likewise the fatal miscarriages and shipwracks of the Separation, whom you call* Brownists,

Brownists, *as Land-marks to forewarn us of theſe Rocks and Shelves they run upon.*

Cottons Letter to Williams, pag. 12. *I ſaid that God had not proſpered the way of Separation, becauſe he hath not bleſſed it either with peace among themſelves, or with growth of grace. The* Lord Jeſus *never delivered that way of Separation to which they bear witneſſe, nor any of his Apoſtles after him, nor of his Prophets before him. We do not come forth to help them againſt* Jehovah; *this were not to help* Jehovah, *but Satan againſt him. We cannot pray in Faith for a bleſſing upon their Separation, which we ſee not to be of God, nor to lead to him. It is little comfort to the true Servants of* Chriſt *that ſuch inventions of men are multiplied.*

(P) Anſwer to the thirty two Queſtions, pag. 7. *Whether is the greater number, theſe that are admitted to Church-communion, or theſe that are not, we cannot certainly tell.*

(Q 1.) Plain dealing, pag. 73. *Here ſuch confeſſions and profeſſions are required, both in private and publick, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Countrey remain out of the Church, ſo that in ſhort time, moſt of the people will remain unbaptized.*

(Q 2.) Williams of the name Heathen, pag. 6. *Nations proteſting againſt the Beaſt, no Papiſts, but Proteſtants, may we ſay of them that they or any of them may be called in true Scripture ſence,* Heathens, *that is, the Nations or Gentiles, in oppoſition to the people of God, which is the onely Holy Nation? Such a departure from the Beaſt in a falſe conſtitution of National Churches, if the bodies of Proteſtant Nations remain in an unregenerate eſtate,* Chriſt *hath ſaid they are but as* Heathens *and* Publicans.

(Q 3.) Plain dealing, p. 21. *There hath not been any ſent forth by any Church, to learn the Natives language, or to inſtruct them in our Religion firſt, becauſe they ſay they have not to do with them being without, except they come to hear, and learn Engliſh.*

(R) Williams of the name Heathen, pag. 10. *For our* New-England *parts, I can ſpeak it confidently, I know it to have been eaſie for my ſelf, long ere this, to have brought many thouſands of theſe Natives, yea, the whole Countrey to a far greater Antichriſtian converſion, then ever was heard of in* America. *I could have brought the whole Countrey to have obſerved one day in ſeven: I adde, to have received Baptiſm, to have come to a ſtated Church meeting, to have*

maintained Prieſts, and Forms of Prayer, and a whole form of Antichriſtian worſhip in life and death.

(S) Ibid. p. 11. *Woe be to me, if I call that converſion to God, which is indeed the ſubverſion of the ſouls of millions in Chriſtendom, from one falſe worſhip to another.*

Williams Key unto the language of America, p. 9. *To which I could eaſily have brought the Country, but that I was perſwaded, and am, that Gods way is firſt to turn a ſoul from its idols, both of heart, worſhip, and converſation, before it is capable of worſhip to the true God.*

(T) Short ſtory, p. 32. *Many good ſouls were brought to wait for this immediate revelation; then ſprung up alſo that opinion of the indwelling of the perſon of the holy Ghoſt.*

Ibid. Preface, p. 13. *That their own revelations of particular events, were as infallible as the Scripture.*

(V) Short ſtory, Preface, pag. 2. *Sin in a childe of God muſt never trouble him. Trouble in conſcience for ſins of Commiſſion, or for neglect of duties, ſheweth a man to be under a Covenant of Works.*

(X) Short ſtory, Preface, p. 2. *A Chriſtian is not bound to the Law as the rule of his converſation.*

(Y) Ibid. pag. 3. *No Chriſtian muſt be preſſed to duties of Holineſſe.*

(Z) Short ſtory Preface, p. 13. *Their Leaders fell into more hideous deluſions, as that the ſouls of men are mortall like the Beaſts.*

(A A) Short ſtory, p. 59. *Theſe who are united to Chriſt, have in this life new bodies, and two bodies.*

(B B) Ibid. *She knoweth not how* Jeſus Chriſt *ſhould be united to this our fleſhly body; theſe who have union with* Chriſt, *ſhall not riſe with the ſame fleſhly body; and that the Reſurrection mentioned in* 1 Cor. 15. 44. *is not meant of the Reſurrection of the body, but of our union here in this life.*

(C C) Ibid. p. 60. *We are united to* Chriſt *with the ſame union that his humanity on earth was with his Deity. That ſhe had no Scripture to warrant that* Chriſts *manhood is now in Heaven; but the body of* Chriſt *is his Church.*

(D D) Ibid. Preface, pag. 1. *You ſhall ſee a Litter of ninety one of their brats hung up againſt the Sun, beſides many new ones of Miſtreſſe* Hutchinſons.

(E E)

(EE) Ibid. *Multitudes of men and women were infected before they were aware.*

(FF) Ibid. Preface, p. 7. *They had some of all sorts and qualities in all places, to defend and patronise them: Almost in every family, some were ready to defend them as the Apple of their own eye.*

(GG) Vide supra. N 2.

(HH) Short story Preface, p. 4. *They would appear very humble, holy, and spirituall Christians, and full of* Christ.

(II) Ibidem. *They would deny themselves far, and speak excellently.*

(KK) Ibid. *They would pray with such soul-ravishing affections and expressions, that a stranger could not but love and admire them.*

(LL) Ibid. *They lifted up their opinions by guilding them over with the specious termes of Free-grace, Glorius-Light, Gospel-Truths, holding out naked* Christ.

(MM) Vide supra. LL.

(NN) Preface, pag. 7. *O their boldnesse, pride, insolency, the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised among us, both in Church and State, and Families, setting division betwixt Husband and Wife!*

Ibid. p. 9. *And seeing a spirit of pride, subtilty, malice and contempt of all men that were not of their minde breathing in them, our hearts were sadded, and our spirits tyred.*

(OO) Ibid. p. 4. *Their followers in admiration of them, would tell others, that since the Apostles times, they were perswaded none ever received so much light from God, as such and such had done, naming their Leaders. See also before* H.

(PP) Short story, pag. 39. *She said it was revealed to her long since in* England, *That all the pack of the Ministers there were Antichristian, so that she durst hear none of them, after Master* Cotton *and Master* Wheelwright *were once gone; for they could not preach* Christ, *and the new Covenant.*

(QQ) Preface, pag. 8. *The faithfull Ministers of* Christ *must have dung cast in their faces, and be no better then legall Preachers,* Baals *Priests, Popish Factors, Scribes, Pharises, and Opposers of* Christ *himself.*

(RR) Vide supra. N 1.

(SS) Preface, p. 9. *The Magistrates were* Achabs, Amazia's, *enemies to* Christ, *led by Satan.*

(TT)

(TT) Ibid. *These were enemies to* Christ; Herods, Pilates, *Scribes and Pharisees, yea, Antichrists; and advised all under a Covenant of Grace, to look upon them as such: And with great zeal did stimulate them to deal with them as such, and alledged the story of* Moses *that killed the Egyptian, and left it barely so.*

(VV) Ibid. *It was a wonder of mercy, that they had not set our Common-wealth and Churches on a fire, and consumed us all therein.*

(XX) Preface, p. 7. *They had some of all quality to defend them, some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Scholars, some of our Captains and Souldiers, some in Military Trainings.*

(YY) Short story, p. 33. *They made full account the day had been theirs.*

(ZZ) *Master* Williams *in his Discourse to me, assured me hereof.*

(AAA) Short story, pa. 43. *Under their conduct, the old Serpent had prepared such an Ambushment, as in all reason should soon have driven* Christ *and the Gospel out of* New-England, *(though to the ruine of the instruments themselves, as well as of others) and to the repossessing of Satan in his ancient Kingdom.*

(BBB) Preface, pag. 12. *Mistresse* Hutchinson *being big with childe, and growing towards the time of her Labour, brought not one, but thirty monstrous births or thereabouts at once, none at all of them of humane shape.*

(CCC) Ibid. *Mistresse* Dyer *brought forth her birth of a Woman childe, a Beast, a Fish, and a Fowl, all woven together in one, and without an head.*

(DDD) Ibid. *Though he that runs may read their sin in these judgements, yet, behold the desperate hardnesse of heart in these persons, and all their followers; they turned all from themselves upon the faithfull servants of God that laboured to reclaim them, saying;* This is for you ye Legalists, that your eyes might be further blinded by Gods hand upon us in your legall wayes, that you may stumble and fall, and in the end break your necks in Hell, if ye imbrace not the Truth.

(EEE) Ibidem. pag. 5. *These persons with many others infected by them, went altogether out of our Jurisdiction into an Iland, and there they live to this day most of them, hatching and multiplying new opinions, and cannot agree, but are miserably divided into sundry Sects and Factions*

(FFF)

(FFF) *Mistresse* Hutchinson *being weary of the Iland, went from thence with all her family, to live under the Dutch, neer a place in the* Map *called* Hell-gate.

(GGG) *There the Indians set upon them, and slew her and all her family; her daughter, and her daughters husband; and all their children, save one that escaped. Some write that the Indians did burn her to death, with all that belonged to her. I never heard that the Indians in these parts did commit the like outrage upon any other.*

(HHH) Vide KKK 1.

(III) Ibid. p. 13. *They grew also many of them very loose in their practises; for these opinions will certainly produce a filthy life by degrees: As no Prayer in their Families, no Sabbath, insufferable pride, frequent and hideous lying; and some of them became guilty of fouler sins then all these, which I here name not.*

Cottons third Sermon, 6. Vial, pag. 9. *The calamities of the Countrey are from God; he takes away all; whether by our pride, that we must have every new fashion, and be like the men of the world, in houses, apparel, and the like; or daintinesse, that we must have our varieties, though it cost never so much, and no matter what followeth, though it eat up our estates. The Lord hath made use of our folly, and pride, and daintinesse, our idlenesse, and covetousnesse.*

Idem. 2. Vial, pag. 26. *We know that in* England *there is no such unfaithful dealing, and hollow heartednesse? no such bitternesse between Christians. What will befall your posterity, they will degenerate out of measure, by the unfaithfulnesse of your lives, and the unrighteousnesse of your promises.*

(KKK 1.) Short story, pag. 44. *The Midwife, one* Hawkins, *was notorious for familiarity with the devil, and now a prime Familist: The most of the women who were present at Mistresse* Dyers *travel, were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting, and purging, without eating or drinking of any thing, as they were forced to go home; others had their children taken with Convulsions, which they had not before, nor since, and so were sent for home: So that none were left at the birth, but the Midwife and two other; whereof one fell asleep at such time as the childe died, which was about two hours before the birth: The Bed wherein the mother lay, shook so violently, that all who were in the Room perceived it.*

(KKK 2.) Ibid. pag. 63, 64. *Then Master* Cotton *told the Assembly, That whereas she had been formerly dealt with for matter of*

Doctrine, he had according to the duty of his place, being the Teacher of the Church, proceeded againſt her unto admonition: But now the caſe being altered, and ſhe being queſtioned for maintaining of untruth, which is matter of Manners, he muſt leave the buſineſſe to the Paſtor Maſter Wilſon *to go on with her; but withall declared his judgement in the caſe from that in the* Revelation, ch. 22. *That ſuch as make and maintain a lie, ought to be caſt out of the Church; and whereas two or three pleaded that ſhe might firſt have a ſecond Admonition, according to that in* Titus 3. 10. *He anſwered, That that was onely for ſuch as erred in point of Doctrine; but ſuch as ſhall notoriouſly offend in matter of converſation, ought to be preſently caſt out, as he proved by* Ananias *and* Saphira, *and the inceſtuous* Corinthian.

Ibid. p. 65. *It was obſerved that ſhe ſhould now come under Admonition for many foul and fundamental Errours, and after be caſt out for notorious lying.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Carriage of the Independents *in* Holland, *at* Roterdam, *and* Arnhem.

THe fruits of this way in *Holland*, are not much ſweeter then theſe we have taſted in *New-England*. All the time of their abode there, they were not able to conquer to their party more then two Congregations; and theſe but very ſmall ones, of the Engliſh onely: For to this day, I have not heard of any one man of the Dutch, French, Scottiſh, or any other Reformed Church, who have become a Member of any Independent Congregation.

Independency no fruitful Tree in *Holland*.

Their firſt Church in *Holland* was that of *Roterdam*, which Maſter *Peters* (*A*) (not the moſt ſetled head in the World) did draw from its ancient Presbyterial Conſtitution, to that new frame which it ſeemeth he alſo learned by Maſter *Cottons* Letters from *New-England*.

Maſter *Peters* the firſt Planter of that Weed at *Roterdam*.

This Church became no ſooner Independent, then it run into the way of ſuch ſhameful Diviſions as their Mother at *Amſterdam* had gone before them. Their Paſtor Maſter *Peters*, was ſoon weary of them, or they of him; for what cauſes themſelves beſt know; but ſure it is, he quickly left them, and went for *New-England*.

The Church was not long deſtitute of Paſtors; for about that time Maſter *Ward* and Maſter *Bridge* came over to them from *Norwich*, where they ever had lived fully conform, without any contradiction either to Epiſcopacy or Ceremonies, onely they withſtood Biſhop *Wrens* laſt Innovations (*B*).

Their Miniſters, Maſter *Bridge*, Maſter *Simpſon*, and Maſter *Ward*, renounced their Engliſh Ordination, and as meer private men took new Ordination from the people.

So ſoon as they came to *Roterdam*, without any long time of adviſement, they conformed themſelves to the Diſcipline which Maſter *Peters* had planted (C); They renounced their Engliſh Ordination and Miniſterial Office, joyning themſelves as meer private men to that Congregation, which afterward did chooſe and ordain both of them to be their Miniſters (*D*).

It was not long before Maſter *Simpſon* alſo came hither from *London*, and renouncing alſo his Ordination (*E*), joyned himſelf as a private member with them.

XUM

Incontinent they did fall into shameful divisions and subdivisions.

Then did the Spirit of Division begin to work among them, and so far to prevail, that Master *Simpson* malecontent with Master *Bridge*, for hindering the private members of the flock to prophesie after the Brownists way, did separate himself and erect a new Congregation of his own (*F*): Betwixt these two Churches, the contentions and slanders became no lesse grievous then those of *Amsterdam* betwixt *Ainsworth* and *Johnsons* followers; and in this much worse, that they of *Roterdam* abode not at one Schism; but after Master *Simpsons* separation, broke out again into another subdivision.

Master *Bridges* Congregation was so filled with strife, so shamefull slanders were laid upon his own back, that displeasure did hasten the death of his wife (*G*), and did well neer kill himself, making him oft professe his repentance that ever he entred into that society (*H*).

The people without any just cause deposed their Minister.

As for Master *Ward*, his Ministery became so unsavoury to that people, that they did never rest till judicially by their own Authority alone (for Presbytery they had none, and Master *Bridge* did dissent from that act of unjust oppression) they had deposed Master *Ward* from his pastoral charge (*I*).

The Commissioners from *Arnhem* durst not come neer the bottom of the businesse.

This act was much stumbled at by divers who were fully perswaded of Master *Wards* integrity, and at last by the intercession of some from the Church of *Arnhem* he was restored to his place; but the ground of the controversie was no wayes touched: For when the four Commissioners from *Arnhem*, Master *Goodwin*, Master *Nye*, Master *Laurence*, and another, had met in a Chamber of a private house in *Roterdam*, with some Members of that faulty Congregation (*K*), and so made up their famous Assembly, which the Apologists are pleased to equal, if not to prefer to all the Assemblies they ever had seen (*L*): Whether that National Synod, wherein Master *Nye* had seen the flowre of the Scottish Nation enter into the Covenant with very great devotion: Or this great Assembly at *Westminster*, where he and his Brethren oft have seen sitting the Prince *Elector*, the most Noble Members of both Houses of Parliament, the prime Divines of all *England*, the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland*.

That Assembly, I say of *Roterdam*, did not so much as touch the main question; they drew a thin skin over the wound, but durst not assay to lance it to the bottom. For did they ever rebuke, or

or ſo much as once ſpeak to the people of that Congregation, for uſurping a Tyrannicall Authority to depoſe their Paſtor. Did they tell Maſter *Ward* of his ſiding with Maſter *Simpſon*, againſt Maſter *Bridge*, in the matter of prophefie? did they ever attempt to cognoſce on the great ſcandal, the ground of all the reſt, Maſter *Simpſons* Separation? did they make any hearty and ſolid reconciliation betwixt Maſter *Ward* and the Church? It ſeems the Aſſembly was wiſer then to meddle with evils, which they found much above their ſtrength to remedy. Maſter *Ward* found himſelf after his reſtitution in ſo pittiful a condition with his new friends, that he left their Company (*M*).

The two Churches were irreconcileable, till both Maſter *Bridge*, and Mr. *Sympſon* had removed their Stations to *England*; and even then the concord could not be obtained, till the Dutch Magiſtrate had interpoſed his authority (*N*): Neither by this means could Maſter *Simpſons* Church be perſwaded to return to Maſter *Bridges*, till for their meer pleaſure they got that Congregation to remove one of their prime members, without the alleadging of any cauſe but their own peremptory will and ſatisfaction (*O*). When by ſo much a do theſe two divided Churches are brought together, it may be much doubted, if their Union ſhall long continue. Certainly, it ſeems not to be ſo Cordial, as that of the two lately divided, and now reunited Churches at *Amſterdam*. For among theſe of *Roterdam*, not onely the grounds of the old diviſion do evidently remain, but alſo the Seeds of a new breach do appear above the ground.

The Schiſme at *Roterdam* were more irreconcileable then thoſe at *Amſterdam*.

The liberty of prophecying, which Maſter *Simpſons* (now Maſter *Simons*) Congregation did require, is not obtained in the way they deſired it; for they are not permitted to Prophecy in the Congregation, nor upon the Sabbath day, nor in the place of publike meeting: Onely in a private place, on a week day, where ſome of the Church who pleaſe do meet; they have liberty to exerciſe their gifts. On the other part, what Maſter *Bridges* (now Mr. *Parks*) Church did require, I mean a Presbytery for Government in the Congregation, cannot be obtained. For however, they profeſſe the lawfulneſſe and conveniency of Ruling Elders, and of a Conſiſtory for Diſcipline; yet it hath ſo faln out that for many yeers they have had none, neither are like in haſte to have, unleſſe the grumbling of Maſter *Parks* and his friends

threatning a new breach, do force them at last to the use of that Ordinance.

Anabaptism is like to spoil that Church.

But that which threatneth not a Schisme alone, but a total dissolution of that Congregation, is the Pest of Anabaptism, which begins of late much to infect them (P). It is true, the Pastors do their best to reclaim all their members from that Errour; and when they finde themselves not able to prevail, give good words and assurances of a full and Brotherly Toleration; for as they scruple not to give the hand of Fellowship to the Brownists of *Amsterdam* (Q); so will they not cast out any from their Church for denying of Pedobaptism, if the dissenting and erring party be pleased to remain peaceably amongst them: But here is the pity, when the Independents have declared their greatest readinesse to tolerate and entertain in their Churches, both the rigid Separatists, and the Anabaptists (R); yet the most of those are unwilling to stay, but are peremptory to separate from the Independent Churches as more corrupt then that they with a good conscience can abide in them, though never to much tolerated and cherished.

As for their Church at *Arnhem*, howsoever their small intercourse with others, during their abode in that remote corner, and their taciturnity of their own affairs makes their proceedings to lie under a Cover; yet so much of their wayes is come to light upon divers occasions as will not be very inductive and alluring of indifferent spirits, to tred in their footsteps.

They of the Church of *Arnhem* admire and praise themselves above all measure.

First, We finde them greater admirers of themselves and proclaimers of their own excellency then is the custome of modest and wise, though the best and greatest men. They think it not enough to anoint their Masters and Friends of *New-England* with excessive praises, as men who have not been matched by any of the Saints since the dayes of *Abraham* (S); but they are also bold to sound out to themselves in Print in the ears of both Houses of Parliament, a commendation much above the possible merit of any so small a number of men in the whole world. The Synod of *Roterdam* they equal to the most solemn National Assemblies of either or both Kingdoms (T). This exceeding great worth upon whose head must it fall, but either alone or far most principally upon the Members of the Church of *Arnhem*? For that Synod did consist of no other but the two Doctors

Doctors of that Church, and the two Elders thereof, together with Master *Bridge*, and the Members of his Church. These last were present in that Synod as persons challenged, and guilty of a grievous scandal; so to them in that action, but a small praise can be due: Wherefore, the supereminent Excellency of that meeting, must fall upon the Commissioners of *Arnhem*, the onely persons which in that meeting were void of offence, and free from challenges. To themselves therefore it is alone, or at least above all others, that they ascribe the superlative praises of that Synod.

In that same place they stick not to take to themselves the honour of so great sincerity as any flesh in the world not onely hath at this present, but possibly can attain in any following Age (*V*). We wonder the lesse to hear them canonize their Colleague Master *Archer* after his death, among the most precious persons who ever trod upon the earth (*X*).

This self-overvaluing seems to be the ground why they cry out of their very moderate afflictions as of great calamities; they ingeminate to the Parliament, over and over, their persecution, their poverty, their miserable exile (*Y*); when they who understand the case, give assurance, that not one of Ten of the most prosperous Ministers of the whole world, in the time of their greatest Sunshine, do live in more wealth, ease, honour, and all worldly accommodations, then these poor miserable exiles did enjoy all the time of that which they call their banishment. The easinesse of their banishment and afflictions.

My next observation upon that Church, is, that an humour of innovating at least, if not a spirit of errour, did much predomine among them. To passe by that wantonnesse of wit, which in their Books, and Discourses doth much appear, whereby they attribute without fear, to a number of Scriptures, such new and strange senses as before them were never heard of: We finde them pleasing themselves in divers Doctrines, which no Reformed Church doth assert for truth, yea, their own Brethren, both of *New-England*, and of *Roterdam*, and of *Amsterdam*, do reject as Errours. The new light at *Arnhem* broke out into a number of strange Errours.

They are not content with some few little touches of Chiliasm, which yet Master *Cotton* tels us are but fleshly imaginations (*AA*): But they run themselves over head and ears in the deepest gulph of that old Heresie. The glimpse of *Sions* glory Preached at a Fast First, Grosse Chiliasm.

in

in *Holland* by *T. G.* (which commonly report without any contradiction that I have heard declares to be *Thomas Goodwin*) avers, That Independency is a beginning, or at least a neer antecedent of Christs Kingdom upon Earth (*B B*): That within five yeers Christ is to come in the flesh (*C C*); and by a Sword of Iron, to kill with his own hand the most of his enemies (*D D*); and thereafter to passe over a thousand yeers (*E E*) as a worldly Monarch (*F F*) with his Saints: Who shall live with him all that time in all sorts of fleshly delights (*G G*): Master *Archer* the onely Pastor that ever they had, whose praises they sound forth so loud in their Apologetick, would perswade us of the same, and more grosse stories (*H H*): Master *Burrows* in his late Sermons upon *Hosea*, runs in the same way (*I I*).

Secondly, The grossest blasphemy of the Libertines that God is the Author of the very sinfulnes of sin.

Neither is this all the new Light that did shine forth in the Candlestick of *Arnhem*; but there also Master *Archer* giveth forth, for the comfort of his hearers, without the reproof so far as yet we have heard of any of his Colleagues, *That God is not onely the Author of sin* (*K K*), *but also of the sinfulnesse, the very Formality, the Anomy, the Ataxy, the Pravity of sin* (*L L*). A doctrine which all Protestants ever did abhor as high Blasphemy; and which, the Assembly of Divines, with both the Houses of Parliament, did condemn as such; appointing Master *Archer* Book for that worst Heresie of the Libertines, and grossest Blasphemy of the Antinomians, to be solemnly burnt by the hand of the Hangman (*M M*).

Thirdly, The fancy of the Enthusiasts in knowing God as God, abstracted from Grace, and from all his attributes.

There was also another sparkle of new Light brake up in that Church, wherein one of their Doctors doth so much delight to this day; That not being content to have holden it out in *Holland*, he is said to have Preached it over and over in the most solemn Assemblies both of *Scotland* and *England*; *That it is a duty incumbent to all who would be perfit, to know God as God, without Christ, without the Scripture, in notions abstracted, not onely from all Grace, but from all Scripture, and from Christ* (*N N*). I dare not affix unto this, the late Doctrine of some *Seraphick* Jesuites and Monks, wherein they have extravagated in their *Lent* Sermons, so many absurd and Heretical senses, as some very learned and good men have done in Print without any answer (*O O*); yet I must professe, if it be a truth, it is a very metaphysical one, and much transcending my shallow understanding.

In

In that Church also the doctrine of Extreme Unction was so far brought back, that they began to anoint their sick with oile, (*PP*) taking it as an ordinance of Christ, and a kinde of a Sacrament for the people, at least a holy Ceremony, no lesse of Divine institution, than Ordination and Imposition of hands were for Officers, (*QQ*).

Also they set on foot another Religious Ceremony in their Congregation, the holy Apostolike kisse (*RR*).

And as if all these innovations had not been sufficient, they begun to put down all singing of *Psalmes*, and to set up in their place, their *singing Prophets*, making one man alone to sing in the midst of the silent congregacion, the Hymnes which he out of his own gift had composed, (*SS* 1). And this, as I am informed by some who have been present, is now the setled practice of the remainder of the Church of *Arnhem*.

Fourthly, the old Popish ceremonies of Baptism unction, and the holy kisse of peace.

Fifthly, the discharging of the *Psalms*, the appointing of a singing Prophet to chant the Songs made by himself, in the silence of all others.

Sixthly, the mortality of the soule.

Master *Edwards* layes to their charge, not onely that their Principles leade to that horrible Errour which some of their followers maintain, *The mortality of the Soule*, (*SS* 2); but also that their chief Doctors had preached, both in *Arnhem* and *England*, without the rebuke of any of their friends, *That the soules of the Saints go not after death to the Heavens*, (*SS* 3). In that same place, the Pastor of *Arnhem*, without the reproof of any of his party to this day, so far as ever I heard, doth take away and deny that Heaven, and that Hell, which all Christians before him did ever believe; and in the place thereof gives us new Heavens, and new Hels of his own invention: He tels us confidently, *That no soule before Christs ascention did ever enter into that place which we commonly call heaven, neither ever shall ever enter there, if you except Christ alone, unto the last day. That all the soules of the godly remain in a place of the higher Region of the Aire, or at highest in the Element of the Fire; That* Enoch *and* Elias, *that the soule of Christ, before the Resurrection, and the soule of the good Theife, went no higher* (*SS* 4.) He tels us, *That the place of the damned before the last judgement, is not any infernall fire, but some prison in the low Region of the Air, or at lowest, in some place of the Sea.* After the day of Judgement, he makes Hell a very large place; the whole Elements, the Heavens of the Planets and of the fixed Stars: yea, the whole Heavens, except that wherein God and the Angels do dwell, being all turned to their first matter, to him is Hell. With such fine new specu-

lations do the Independent Pastors feed their flocks (*SS*).

Seventhly, the conveniency for Ministers to preach covered, and celebrate the Sacraments discovered: but for the people to hear discovered, and to participate the Sacraments covered. Their publick contentions were shamefull.

I have heard also one of their Doctors deliver it as his opinion, That it was expedient for the Minister in Preaching to have his head covered; and the people in time of preaching to sit uncovered: But in the holy Communion, that it was expedient the Minister should celebrate that Sacrament uncovered, unto the people covered. I do not deny my suspition of the spirit of these men, who are not afraid, in so short a time, to vent such a multitude of strange novelties.

But the clearest *memento* which God hath given us to beware of the wayes of that Church, is, Their bitter and shamefull contentions among themselves, which, if not stopped by the Churches dissolution, might long before this day have produced as foule effects as any of the former. A part of this story, and but a part of it, you may read in that unanswerable Book of Master *Edwards*, where at length you will see how their new fancies brought them to so bitter publike contention, and irreconcileable strife, as made their people confesse their doubting of the truth of their way (*TT*); and their principall Doctor, Master *Goodwin*, to avow his inclination to desert their society, and leave their Church, (*VV*).

The Testimonies.

(A) Anatomy of Independency, p. 24. *That Independent church at* Roterdam, *was formerly under Presbyteriall Government, and conformable to the Dutch churches, and had only begun to decline in Mr.* Peters *his time.*

(B) Antip. p. 17. *Master* Bridge *and Master* Burrows *were men judged conformable, till the year of Bishop* Wrens *Visitation, and the sending down of his Injunctions to* Norwich.

(C) Ibid. *Master* Bridge *fell suddenly into the Church-way, as the short space between his Suspension at* Norwich, *and his being received into a Church at* Roterdam, *and thereupon, his first Letter to some of his old friends in* Norwich *will fully shew.*

(D) Anatom. p. 23. *They all renounced their Ordination in* England, *and ordained one another in* Holland; *first Master* Bridges *ordained Master* Ward, *and then immediately Master* Ward *ordained Master* Bridges.

(E)

(E) Antap. p. 142. *Master* Simpson, *after some time of beholding the order and way of the Church at* Roterdam, *desired to be admitted a Member, and was upon his confession received in.*

(F) Ibid. *Master* Simpson *stood for the ordinance of Prophecying, and that the people, on the Lords day, should have liberty after the Sermon to put doubts and questions to the Ministers. Mr.* Bridge *opposed; Yet he yielded so far, that the Church should meet on a week-day, and then they should have that liberty; but this would not satisfie Master* Simpson: *whereupon the difference increased, and Master* Simpson *would abide no longer, but quitted that Church; and with the help of a woman, whom Master* Bridge *called the Foundresse of Master* Simpsons *Church, set up a Church against a Church.*

(G) *Mistresse* Bridge *laid these bitter differences and reports so to heart, that they were a great means of her death.*

(H) Ibid. *Whether Master* Bridges *weaknesse and distempers were not occasioned by the divisions and wicked scandals raised upon him, as well as by the Aire of* Roterdam, *himself knows best.*

Ibid. p. 143. *Upon Master* Simpsons *renting from the Church, and setting up a Church against a Church, under Mr.* Bridges *nose; and upon wicked reports raised about Master* Bridges; *there grew that bitternesse, evill speakings, and deep censurings, deadly feuds amongst these Ministers and their Churches, as never was more betwixt the* Jewes *and the* Samaritans. *Master* Bridge *confessed to me, there were no such sharp tongues, nor bitter divisions as these.*

Anatom. p. 6. *Of these reproachings Master* Bridges *hath found notable experience at* Roterdam, *to the tyring out of his spirit amongst them there, insomuch as he hath been often heard to affirm, That if he had known at first what he met with afterward, he would never have come amongst them, nor being amongst them, have given them such liberty as he had.*

(I) Antap. p. 35. *Master* Ward, *Master* Bridges *colleague and old friend at* Norwich, *was deposed from his Ministery and Office by Mr.* Bridges *Church, for frevolous matters.*

(K) Antap. p. 184. *I much wonder how you can call the meeting of Master* Goodwin *and Master* Nye, *with two Gentlemen more, calling Master* Bridge *with the rest of that Church supposed to be Delinquents, such a solemn Assembly.*

(L) Apol. Narration, p. 20. *The Ministers of the Church offended, with other two Gentlemen of much worth, members thereof,*

were sent as Messengers from that Church, and at the introduction and entrance of that solemn Assembly; the solemnity of which hath left as deep an impression upon our hearts of Christs dreadfull presence, as ever any we have been present at.

(M) Antap. p. 141. *I desire to know whether Master* Ward *after he was restored, did, as formerly, officiate in that Church, and how long; and whether Master* Bridge *and he continued as fellow Ministers; and whether between them two, and between the Church and Master* Ward, *there was that mutuall carriage that ought to be between fellow-Ministers, and Ministers and People.*

(N) Anatom. p. 49. *The way of Vnion of these Churches could never be found, till the Magistrates authority and command found it.*

(O) Anato. p. 6. *These two Churches being of late commanded by the Magistrates of* Roterdam *to unite again in one, and that Church whereof Master* Simpson *was Minister, being unwilling to joyn to the other, unlesse some members thereof should be cut off first, especially one; and the Church whereof that party was a Member, being willing to gratifie the other in this, and yet professing and attesting as an act of the whole Church, by writing, That all the time he had been a member, his conversation had been without offence: Yet their Teacher was forced, as himself confessed with griefe of heart, having nothing to except against the person, to urge him to take his dismission from the Church.*

(P) Ibid. *Adde hereunto the defection of some of their Members to Anabaptisme, and how apt others of them are to be made a prey therein, more then the members of other Reformed Churches, as late instance hath manifested, some having professed Master* Simpsons *principles have made them Anabaptists.*

(Q) Anatom. p. 24. *They cannot shew us such a fraternity between them and any Reformed church, as I am (and I believe truly) informed, Master* Simpsons *church (whether by him, or after his time by Master* Simons, *I have not enquired) entred into with those of the Separation at* Amsterdam, *by a mutuall covenant and agreement to own each other. I believe it to be by vertue of that Covenant, that some of their Members, not Officers of the Church, do publikely preach in Master* Canns *Pulpit at* Amsterdam.

(R) Antap. p. 51. *I can tell you how some of you who have not Churches here in* London, *go to separate Churches to partake of the* Lords Supper. Ibid.

Ibid. p.56. *Instance hath been given me particularly by a great Friend of yours now in* London; *That when some of you have come to* Amsterdam, *you never would go to Master* Herrings, *a good old Nonconformist, but you have gone to Master* Cann *the Separatist, and to his Church.*

Ibid. *For their going to the* Brownists, *and conversing with Mr.* Cann, *more then us, that is undeniable.*

(S) Apol. Narration, p.5. *Whose sincerity in their way hath been testified before the world, and will be unto Generations to come, by the greatest undertaking, but that of our Father* Abraham *out of his own Country, and his Seed after him.*

(T) Vide supra. L.

(V) Apol. Nar. p.3. *In this inquiry we looked upon the Word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out.*

(X) Ibid. p.22. *We lost some friends and companions, our fellow-labourers in the Gospel, as precious men as this earth beares any.*

(Y) Apol. Nar. p.22. *When it pleased God to bring us his poor exiles back again.* Ibid. p.23. *Which was as great an affliction to us, as our former troubles and banishment.* Ibid. p.31. *Consider us as these who for many years suffered even to exile.*

(Z) Antapol. p.26. *How dare you affirme, that for your consciences you were deprived at once of whatever was dear to you? were not your Wives, Children, Estates, Friends, and Lives dear to you? had you not all these with you, and did you not in the* Netherlands *live in the best places, in much plenty, ease, and pomp? what great deprivation is this of whatever is dear, for men to take their own times, and to go in Summer, with Knights, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, with all necessaries, into* Holland, *and there to take choice of all the Land, and with Wives, Children, Friends and Acquaintance, free from the feares and possibilities of vexation from the Spiritual Courts, and Prisons, to enjoy all plenty and freedome as you did? Many would have been glad, and still would be, to be so exiled into* Holland, *and to be able to spend there two or three hundred pounds* per annum.

(AA) Cottons 6. Viall, p.9. *I dare not take up such carnall imaginations, as that Christ shall come bodily, and reigne here upon Earth.*

(BB) Glimpse of Sions glory, p.33. *If God have such an intention to glorifie his Church, and that in this world, what manner of*

persons ought ye to be, because ye are beginning this despised worke, gathering a Church together, which way God will honour? certainly, the Communion of Saints, and Independency of Congregations, God will honour.

(CC) Daniel 12.11. *From the time that the daily Sacrifice shall be taken away, there shall be 1290 dayes; What is the meaning of this? A day is usually taken for a year. This abomination of desolation was in* Julians *time in the 360. year: now reckon so many yeares according to the number of the dayes, it comes to 1650. and it is like to be it, as any that can be named. But it is said, Blessed is he that comes to the 1335 dayes, that is, forty five yeares more added; it shall begin in the 1650. but it comes not to full head till forty five yeares more.*

(DD) Ibid. *in the Epistle. Take this rule,* That all Texts of Scripture are to be understood literally, except they make against other Scriptures, or except the very coherence of the Scripture shew it otherwise.

Ibid. p. 17. *Indeed, if we put upon allegoricall senses, we may put off any Scripture; but if we take them literally, why should we not?*

Ibid. p. 21. *Christ is described in the 19. of the* Revelation, *with his Garments dyed in blood, when he doth appeare to come and to take the Kingdome: when he appeares with many Crownes upon his head, that notes his many victories.*

Ibid. p.17. *The promise that is made,* Revel.12. *He shall rule them with a Rod of Iron, and as the Vessels of a Potter they shall be broken to shivers. What shall we make of this?*

(EE) Ibid. p.14.15. *The reigning with Christ 1000 years, is not meant of reigning with him in Heaven, but it must be meant of Jesus Christs comming and reigning here gloriously for 1000. yeares.*

(FF) Ibid. p. 17. *What shall we make of this, except there be a glorious reign of Christ with his Saints? Christ is said to make them Kings, so as to have power and dominion in the world.*

(GG) Ibid. p.13. *There is no reason why that of the 26. of* Matth. v.29. I will drink it new with you in my Fathers kingdome, *may not be taken literally.*

(HH) Archers personall reign, p. 5. *I call this last state of his, Monarchical, because he will governe as earthly Monarchs have done, that is, universally over the world in these dayes, known, and esteemed;*

esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensually, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever in and of the world is not sinfull, having all Nations and Kingdomes doing homage to him, as the great Monarchs of the World had.

(II) Burrows upon Hosea, p. 145. *These are the new Heavens and the new Earth that are to be created; and this is meant of the Church plainly: For the Text,* Verse 12. *speaks of building houses, and inhabiting them, and of planting Vineyards, and eating the fruit of them, upon these new Heavens, and this new Earths creation.*

Ibid. p. 191. *And literally we are to understand many Scriptures that tend this way, concerning the fruitfulnesse of the Earth, and the outward externall glory that then shall be in the creatures.*

(KK) Archers comfort for Believers, p. 41. *God may as truly and easily have a will and hand in, and be the author of sinnes, as of afflictions.*

Ibid. *We may safely say that God is, and hath an hand in, and is the Author of the sinfulnesse of his people.*

(LL) Ibid. p. 36. *The feare of some of these inconveniences, hath made Divines not to acknowledge so much of God in sin, as is in sin: They have erred on the other hand, and made sin more of the creature and in it self, and lesse from God then it is: They grant, that God is willing sin should be, and that he permits it, and orders circumstances about its production, and hath an hand in, and is the author of the Physicall or Morall act, in, and with which sinne is; but the essence of sinne,* i.e. *the pravity and ataxy, the anomy and irregularity of the act, which is the sinfulnesse of it, God hath no hand, neither is he any Author at all thereof. This opinion goes wrong another way, and gives not to God enough in sinne. Let us imbrace and professe the truth, and not feare to say that of God, which he in his Holy book saith of himself, namely,* That of him, and from his hand, is not only the thing that is sinfull, but the pravity and sinfulnesse of it.

(MM) A short Declaration of the Assembly, by way of Detestation of the abominable and blasphemous opinion. The Order of the House of Lords runs thus——*Complaint being this day made to the Lords in Parliament, by the Assembly of Divines, that a certain blasphemous and hereticall booke, intituled,* Comfort for Believers, *is printed and published, being written by* John Archer; *their*

their Lordships much abhorring the said blasphemies, do award and adjudge, that the said Book shall be burnt by the hand of the common Hangman.

(NN) Doctor *Stewarts* Duply to *M. S.* second part, p. 128. *Not long since I heard one of the Ringleaders of the Independent Sect deliver this doctrine in a Sermon at the Abbey of* Westminster; *viz. That to a saving knowledge of God, it sufficeth not to know him in the Book of Nature*; or secondly, *as revealed in the holy Scriptures but that we must also know him as abstract from his mercy, and all his Attributes.*

(OO) Ibid. *If I know God abstracted from his mercy; I know him out of Christ, and out of the Gospel; for God in Christ, and in the Gospel, is not abstract, but concrete with mercy. If God be considered as abstract from all his attributes, it is no more a knowledge of God, but some idol of the Independents brains.*

(PP) Antap. p. 36. *Master* Goodwin *did annoint a Gentlewoman (whose name I conceale) when she was sick, and she recovered after it, say they.*

(QQ) Ibid. *Anointing the sick with Oyle, was held in that Church of* Arnhem *as a standing Ordinance for Church-members, as laying on of hands was a standing Ordinance for Church-Officers.*

(RR) Ibid. p. 60. *I propound it to you, whether a little before your comming over into* England, *some Members of the Church of* Arnhem *did not propone the Holy kisse, or the kisse of Love, to be practised by Church-members? Nay, Whether by some persons in that Church was it not begun to be practised?*

(SS 1.) Ibid. p. 36. *A Gentleman of note in that Church, did propone in the Church, that singing of Hymns was an Ordinance; which is, That any person of the Congregation exercising their own gifts, should bring an Hymne and sing it to the Congregation, all the rest being silent, and giving audience.*

(SS 2.) Antap. p. 262. *Some of* Arnhem *hold strange conceits: Daily the* Independents *Churches, like* Africa, *do breed and bring forth the Monstirs of Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Familisme, nay, that huge Monster and old flying Serpent, of the Mortality of the Soule of man.*

(SS 3.) Ibid. p. 261. *I have been told of some odde things preached by one of you five, both in* England *and* Holland, *and of some Points preached in the Church of* Arnhem, *never questioned there,*

and

and since Printed, not very Orthodox; as for instance among others, That the soules of the Saints do not go to Heaven to be with Christ.

(SS 4.) Archers personall reign, p. 23. *This Objection supposes the soules of the dead Saints to be in the highest Heavens, which is not so: It is likely the soules of the dead Saints are not in the highest Heavens, but in a middle place, which is meant in the New Testament by Paradise; into this paradise went Christs soule, and the Theifs, which was not Heaven. Its most probable that Christs soule never went into the highest Heavens, till his body went also.* Ibid. *None but Christ, and so none before Christ, ever entered the high-st Heavens. The way to Heaven was never opened, till Christ the High-Priest entered Body and Soul into it. The highest Heavens never had but one man into them, namely* Christ, *nor shall have till the worlds end.*

Ibid. p. 25. *If you ask where this place of Paradise is: I answer, It must be below the highest Heavens, therefore surely it is in the Region or Element of fire, where the Sun and Stars are, or in the highest Region of the Ayre.*

(SS 5) *Archers personall reign, p. 35. At the day of Judgement the wicked shall be sent with the Devill into Hell, which Hell shall not be that which is now called Hell but another; for the Hell that now is, is but a prison, and not the place of execution: At the last day this Hell that now is, shall cease. This Hell which is at present, to be sure is in some of the places of the Aire, or the Waters, and not in the earth: But the Hell which shall be the everlasting torments of all the damned. Shall be all this lower and visible World, all the places of the Earth, Water, Aire, Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Fire, called the Heavens, and the Earth. The things which God immediately made out of nothing, shall never change; as the highest Heavens, and the Angels in them, and the soules of men, and this Chaos called the Earth: But all other things being made out of something, even out of this Earth or Chaos, they shall after a time change, and so all this World shall come to an Earth or Chaos again. God in time did make two places, Heaven and Earth, immediately out of nothing, to be eternall places, the one of Joy, the other of Torment. Thus you see when Hell was made, but it was quickly covered, and shall not be uncovered, till Christ do it at the last day.*

(TT) Antap. p. 36. *The Gentleman censured, brings an accusation against Master* Nye, *charging him with Pride, want of Charity, &c. And this being brought before the Church, continued in debate about half a yeare, three or foure dayes in a week, and sometimes more, before all the Congregation: divers of the Members having Callings to follow, they desired leave to be absent. Master* Goodwin *oft professed publikely upon these differences, If this were their Church-fellowship, he would lay down his Eldership; and nothing was more commonly spoken among the Members, then that certainly for matter of Discipline they were not in the right way, for that there was no way to bring things to an end.*

(VV) Vide supra. TT.

CHAP. V.

The Carriage of the Independents *at* London.

The work of the prime Independents of *New England*, *Arnhem*, and *Roterdam*, theſe 5 years at *London*.

YOu have gotten a taſte of the fruits of this Tree, as it growes in *New-England* and *Holland*: When it is tranſplanted to *Old-England*, conſider if the Grapes of it be any thing ſweeter.

Theſe five laſt yeares, the chief of that party, both from *Arnhem*, *Roterdam*, and *New-England*, have kept their reſidence at *London*, to advance by Common-counſels and induſtry, their Way, in theſe dayes of their hopes. A full account of their courſes in that place cannot be expected, ſo long as many paſſages concerning them lie in the dark, and the end is not yet come. But three things ſeem to be cleare, which make their Way at *London* no more lovely then in the places mentioned. Firſt, they have been here exceeding unhappy in retarding, and to their power croſſing the bleſſed Reformation in hand. Secondly, they have pregnantly occaſioned the multiplication of Hereſies and Schiſmes, above all that ever was heard of in any one place in any former Age. Thirdly, they have occaſioned ſuch Diviſions in the State, that had it not been for the extraordinary mercies of God, the Parliament and all that follow them had long agoe been laid under the feet of their enraged Enemies, and the whole Iſle long before this been totally ruined.

They did hinder with all their power, ſo long as they were able, the calling of the Aſſembly.

As for the firſt, the Reformation of Religion, ſo much wiſhed for by all the Godly for ſo many yeares; All know it could never have been attained without the help of an Aſſembly of Divines: Who oppoſeth the neceſſary Mean, cannot be taken for a friend of the End. The Aſſembly, the neceſſary mean of Reformation, was for a very long time hindred, by the diligence of the Independent party, to be called (*A*): and when, to their evident griefe and diſcontent, the Parliament had voted its calling, they may remember their extraordinary induſtry to get it modelled according to their Principles, both in its members, and power (*B*); to have it an elective Synod only for advice, to conſiſt of ſo many of themſelves and of their favourers as was poſſible, not any known Divine of any parts in all *England* of their opinion, being omitted. How cautious they were by great ſleight of hand to keep off ſo many of the old Puritan Unconformiſts, as they were wont injuriouſly to be called, and how much more incliuable towards

wards men of Episcopall and Liturgick principles, themselves doe know;

Albeit, Their under-hand-working before the sitting of the Assembly, was seen but by few: but so soon as the Synod did sit, it did then appeare to the whole company who were the men who made it their worke and greatest study to keep off, by their endlesse Janglings, the Assembly from concluding any thing that might settle the distracted Church (*C*); so that to this day, after two yeares time and above, in more frequent and longer Sessions then ever wee reade of in any Assembly since the world began (*D*), there is nothing at all set up for the comfort of the afflicted Kingdome. When it was called, they retarded its proceedings.

Their averseneſſe to the Assembly doth appeare, not only in their opposition to its calling, in their retarding of its proceedings, but in their pressing of its dissolution. I doe not speake of the huge Contumelies which some of their party have poured out upon the face of that most Reverend Meeting, in a number of very wicked Pamphlets, which to this day were never so much as censured, though the Authours, by name, and sirname, are complained of in Print. But that which I speake of, is the expresse Article of the Independent Petition, desiring the Parliament in formall termes, according to Master *Peters* dictates, to dissolve the Assembly (*D* 2.)

What more evident demonstrations could they give of their averseneſſe from having the present confusions comming to any end, or of their desires to have the reputation of the Assembly blasted in the hearts of all with whom they had any credit, then openly to deny their concurrence in these things which themselves dare not but professe to be right, and according to the will of God? also to cause print such direct challenges of the Assemblies proceedings, as, if they were true, could not but imprint on the face of that most Reverend company the indeleble markes of injustice and oppression? A late evidence of their affection towards the Assembly and Reformation in hand.

When all the Congregations in the Kingdome after a long expectation and confident hope were panting for a power to keepe off from the Table of the Lord, as well all as some scandalous persons, when the wisedome and piety of the Parliament was so much inclined to hearken to these desires of all gracious people, that it seemed there needed no more for obtaining that happy Ordinance, but one unanimous motion more from the Assembly; the

Independents being lovingly entreated, and at last with all earnestnesse required to joyn in that pious and most necessary motion with the rest of their Brethren, did peremptorily refuse to coneur in any such matter.

And as if this had not been enough to have evidenced their affection to promote these very parts of Reformation which their own hearts did fully approve, they behoved to adde a second courtesie: when by the complaints of their friends in print, they had obtained from the Assembly a power to draw up, and present a Model of the Goverment which they so much pleaded for, that so at last the World might come to the understanding of their mindes under their own hands; when this charge was accepted, and their presence in the Assembly for a long time dispensed with, in full hope of a reall performance of their undertaking: at the end of six or seven moneths expectation, in place of a plain Declaration of their positive doctrine, behold a Libel of all their exceptions that they had taken from the beginning against the Assemblies proceedings; and as if the offence had not been great enough to have so served the Synod within the wals of their meeting, that Libel must needs be sent out to the World in Print, and that before the Assembly could have so much time as to begin any Answer to it.

That the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* lie so long in confusion, neither Papists, nor Prelates, nor Malignants have been the cause.

Had either the Popish faction, or the Episcopal party, or the malignant Courtiers procured the continuance of our wofull Anarchy, our anger would have been greater then our grief or shame. But when the mercies of God now for some years have removed the Papists, Prelates and Courtiers so far from us, that by word or deed they have not hindred us in the least measure to heal the diseases of our Church at our pleasure; that her wounds to this day should be multiplied, and all be kept open to drop out her best blood, alone through the obstinacy of our Brethren; though we compresse our indignation, yet we cannot but be oppressed with a great measure of grief, nor can we chuse but to be covered with confusion and shame, when we are forced to taste the most bitter fruits of our Brethrens principles, though denied by them in words, yet ingenuously avowed by their friends in *Amsterdam*, and constantly practised in *New-England*; to the uttermost of their power *(E 1)* they must oppose the building of a Church any where in the world, if it be not after their pattern.

But the Independents, working according to their principles.

That as in *New-England* no Presbyteriall Church on any condition may be tolerated; so in *Old-England* no Presbyteriall Church must ever be erected, if all their skill and industry can hinder it. Such a Reformation, though expresly according to the Nationall Covenant, to them is a deformation, which they cannot wish, much lesse pray for or endeavour, but with all their strength must crosse it, as a corruption unsufferable, where they have power.

It's plain and demonstrable, that their Principles and Way have forced them to oppose the Reformation in hand, and will ever force them so to do, till they lay

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new grounds, and be changed in the ſenſe of their erroneous minde. However, the actions of our Brethren did proclaim loud enough their intentions to delay ſo long as they were able, the ſetting up of any Government; yet when this evill is become ſo groſſe and palpable, that all in words do diſclaim it, and they who moſt do procure it, do moſt in ſhew abominate it; it ſeems a little ſtrange, that ſome of their Divines are now begun in Print expreſly to own it, and in Print to perſwade the delay of this work *(E 2)*.

It muſt be a heavy guiltineſſe, to be a powerfull inſtrument of keeping two ſo great Kingdomes as *England* and *Ireland* without the Fold and Hedge of all Eccleſiaſtike Diſcipline for divers years together, eſpecially in the time of a devouring war. How many thouſand ſoules have periſhed by this means in their ignorance and profaneſſe, who in a well-governed Church might have been reclaimed?

The great miſchiefe of that Anarchy wherein they have kept the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* for ſo long a time.

Unto this great miſery, another great unhappineſſe addeth much weight. Beſide their marring of the begun Reformation, they have occaſioned the periſhing of ſome millions of poor ſoules, by the unheard of multiplication of Hereſies and Schiſms *(F)*. I believe no place in the world, for this miſchief, is now parallel to *London*. *Amſterdam* long ago is juſtified: that City hath tranſmitted hither the infamy of her various Sects. Now upon whom ſhall this blame be faſtened?

Independency is the mother of more Hereſies and Schiſms at *London*, then *Amſterdam* ever knew.

It is well known that the Sects, at the time of the Independents return hither, were inconſiderable, in regard of that which now they are by their means. It was their work to bring people into diſtaſte with the way of all the Reformed Churches: this, by their labours, was made vile in the eyes of the multitude; and people once having leaped over that wall, within the which all the Proteſtant Churches have dwelt in ſafety, by all the skill of their firſt miſleaders could not be holden from running farther away; as in *New England*, Independency was a mother to Anabaptiſm, Antinomianiſm, Familiſm, and many more Hereſies, We need not wonder to ſee it any where bring forth the like brood: But hereof indeed do we wonder, that in ſo ſhort a time this Way ſhould change as it were its nature ſo far to the worſe.

In *Holland* and *New-England*, Independency, ſo ſoon as it had found and diſcerned the young brats of Anabaptiſts, Antinomians or Familiſts in her boſome, it was her cuſtome incontinent to fling them away as baſtards: But Independency at *London* hath learned not only to beget, but to cheriſh ſuch children when they are brought forth. Not only the Churches of *New-England*, but the very *Amſterdam* Browniſts have ever been zealous to caſt out of their ſociety the Heretikes and Schiſmatikes we ſpeak of: but here in *London* it is far otherwiſe.

Independency at *London* doth not only bring forth, but nouriſh and patronize Hereſies and Schiſms, contrary to its cuſtom either in *New Engl.* or *Amſterdam*.

We have heard that many of the Independents here, ſo ſoon as they have fallen into Anabaptiſme or other Errours of the time, have quickly of their own accord run away and ſeparated from the Independent Congregations, as polluted, as falſe, as no Churches: But that ever any of the *London* Independents did caſt out of their Churches any man or woman for Anabaptiſm, Antinomianiſme, or any other Errour, we never heard.

By the contrary, Independency here is become an uniting Principle; it hath kept our Brethren, in the midſt of all their bitter jars with the Reformed Churches abroad, and the Presbyterians at home, in a great intireneſſe and familiarity with all the Sectaries that pleaſed to draw near them. They have by their debates and

ſents laboured to hinder the Aſſembly from giving the leaſt advice to the Parliament to take any order with the moſt abſurd of the Sectaries, when complained upon for their greateſt Enormities; yea, they have preached and printed divers Tractates for a full liberty to all Sects (G). That ſo ſoon they ſhould have run thus far out, we could never have believed, if our own eyes and eares had not been our perſwaders.

How hazardous it may prove to the State of *England*.

As for the third Apple we obſerved on their Tree, The indangering of the State, it is no leſſe viſible then any of the former. If there were no more but the keeping of the Church-wounds ſo long open, the health, yea the life of the State might juſtly be feared, from this ground alone, by all who know the ſympathy of theſe Twins, and the inſeparable intereſt of theſe two much united companions. But beſide the keeping of the Church unſetled, the growth of Schiſms, how pregnant a cauſe it is of a States ruine, we need no other witneſſe then the declaration of their Brethren in *New-England* (H). We are made here to believe, that the Anabaptiſts and the Antinomians are ſo tame and harmleſſe creatures, that there is danger of any violence from their innocent hands. If it be ſo, the Generall Court at *New-Beſton* hath been extreamly unjuſt, who profeſſed their well-grounded apprehenſion of a totall ſubverſion not only of all their Churches, but of their Civill State alſo, from a far leſſe number of theſe Sectaries then are here among us; and avowed to the world their neceſſity to baniſh out of that Country the leaders of that dangerous Faction, whether men or women, whether Church or Stateſ-men, and to diſarm many of their followers, upon much ſmaller provocations and lighter grounds of ſuſpition then by the words and deeds of their kinſfolks have been offered lately unto this State (I).

What more might be ſaid of the *London*-Independents practices upon the State, readily may come to the world ere long by a much better Pen. I for cauſes at this time abſtain totally from medling with this ſubject.

The Teſtimonies.

(A) Antap. p. 52. *I beleeve upon good grounds, and ſo do many more, you never took any great content or joy in the thoughts of the Aſſembly, but have done your utmoſt to delay it and to put it by. God knows your hearts, and men ſome of your ſpeeches about the meeting of this Aſſembly: But ſeeing it could not be helped, and that you could not keep it off by all your friends,* &c.

(B) Antap. p. 255. *When an Aſſembly was firſt agreed upon, there were not many more Miniſters and Scholars of your way in the Kingdome who were capable of ſuch a Service, then you got in to be Members of the Aſſembly; ſo that you had as much advantage as your condition was capable of, yea and favour too See the Orders of the Aſſembly, which give no power at all of Juriſdiction to the few ſelected Divines, but alone a power of advice.*

(C) Antap. p. 269. *I am confident, had it not been for you five, and a few more, the Reformation intended had been in a far fairer way then now it is. Brethren, there are many complaints, and that by your dear friends, of the retarding the Worke of Reformation by your meanes. You are the* Remora *to the Ship under ſailes, you are the Spokes in the Wheeles of the Chariot of Reformation. Parliament complaines, Aſſembly, City, Countrey, all complain of the Worke retarded, and all is reſolved into you five principally. I could tell you many particular paſſages, but you know what I meane. In a word, all the Prelates and the Papiſts cannot, nor doe not hinder*

hinder so much the work of Reformation, as you five Members of the Assembly.

(D 1.) *The Scribes books carry already above 500. Sessions.*

(D 2.) Prynnes fresh Discovery, p 17. *They lately conspired together to exhibite a Petition to the Parliament, for present dissolving the Assembly, and sending them home to Countrey cures, to prevent the setling of any Church-Government; To which end they met at the Wind-mill Tavern, where* John Lilburn *sate in the Chaire, and Mr* Hugh Peters *suggested the advice, which was accordingly inserted in the Petition.*

(E 1) Answer to 32 Quest. p. 83. *If that Discipline which we here practise, be the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable: We see not how another can be lawfull. So if a company of people shall come hither, and set up another, we cannot promise to approve of them in so doing.*

(E 2.) Burtons Vindication, p. 2. *If the better heed be not taken, there may be more haste to a Reformation, than good speed; A Reformation therefore will necessarily require longer time yet, that we may not go blindfold about it. See also* Saltmarsh *his Queries.*

(F) Bastwicks second part of Independency. Postscript, p. 37. *Before the Independents apparition in our Horizon, there were but three or foure Sects known among us, and they were few in number, and well-conditioned; but out of the Independents lungs are sprung above forty severall sorts of straglers, which before their comming over were never heard of among us.* John Lilburn *related it unto me, and that in the presence of others, That returning from the wars to* London, *he met forty new Sects, and many of them dangerous ones, and some so pernicious, that however, as he said, he was in his judgement for Toleration of all Religions, yet he professed he could scarce keep his hands off them, so blasphemous they were in their opinions: So that he gathered that these were now the last dayes, wherein so many Heresies abounded. There are innumerable Diabolicall Sects, and so prodigiously impious, that it is not for a Christian to name their opinions; and most of them, if not all, were first Independents, and such as separated from our Congregations as unholy, and were of the new gathered Churches, and followers of their Ministery.*

(G) A short Answer to *Adam Stewarts* second Part, supposed to be written by *John Goodwin*, p. 32. and 36. *Is it not an ungodly thing to suffer men to be of any Religion? Answer. No, For both our* Saviour, *and the* Apostles, *and the Primitive* Christians *did the same. Ought we not at least to keep our different Opinions and Religion to our selves, in obedience to the Civill Magistrate that commands it? Answer. No, Because it's better to obey God, then man. But if Jesuited Papists, and other subtile Hereticks be suffered, will they not seduce many unto their erroneous By-paths? Answer. Though a Toleration by erroneous opinions may gain some to Satan, yet Truth being therewith to be published and approved, will in all probability not only gain so many more to God; but any one thus wonne to the Truth, is worth thousands of these that fall from it.*

(H) *Cottons* Model of Church and Civil power, related in the Bloody Tenent, p. 130. *The fals of Commonwealths are known to arise from their diminishing the power of the Church, and the flourishing of Commonwealths is observed to arise from the vigilant administration of the holy Discipline of the Church.*

(I) Master *Prynnes* Fresh discovery, in the Epistle. *Their Libels, actions, speeches, proclaim a plotted, avowed Confederacie among some furious Ringleaders of these Independent Sectaries, against the Parliament, Assembly, and all their Resolves in matters of Religion. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, first the new se-*

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ditious Covenants which the Members of some Independent Congregations enter into, to adhere, defend, maintain, to the uttermost of their power, and contend for even to blood, the establishment of that Independent Form of Church-Government which themselves have set up, and to oppose the Presbyterian.

Bastwicks second part, p. 28. *This that I now say, I speak upon very good ground: Among those they think they may confide in, they affirm, they will not be beholding to the Parliament, nor any body else for their liberty, for they will have it, and ask them no leave. They have the Sword now in their hand, and they think their party strong enough to encounter any adverse party: and they professe they care not how soon they come to cutting of throats, and speaking in blood, but the slaughtering and butchering of the Presbyterians: And therefore there is just cause given us to think we may expect better quarters from the very Enemies, then from the Independents, who call us in their pulpits Brethren, but in their hearts hate us.*

Ibid. Postscript. p. 6. *The Presbyterian Government not suiting with their humour, they abhorre it and all such as endeavour to establish it; and wish rather that all the old Trumpery were brought in again, and professe they had rather have the government of the Prelates: Yea, some of them have not been ashamed to protest unto Prelatical Priests, that before the Presbyters shall rule over them, they will cut all their throats, and joyn with them for the re-establishing of the Hierarchy.*

Ibid. p. 30. *Professing that all such Preachers who preach and write the least thing in opposition to their Opinions, ought to be hanged: And had they the power in their hands, they would truss them up, as many can testifie.*

Ibid. p. 45. *They boast of such a Party in the Kingdome, if their own words may be credited, as they now think by the Sword to be able to make their own Lawes; and have been frequently heard say, That they had many Abettors in the Assembly and both houses of Parliament, and in many parts through the Kingdome, besides in all the Armies: And they were all resolved to have the Liberty of their Consciences, or else they would make use of their Swords, which they have already in their hands.*

Ibid. p. 68. *I know not any Independent in England, except one man and his wife, that do not as maliciously and implacably hate the Presbyterians, as the mortallest enemy they have in the world.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An Enumeration of the common Tenets of the Independents.

IT is not easie to set down with assurance the *Independents* Positions, both because they have to this day declined to declare positively their minds; as also because of their principle of mutability, whereby they professe their readinesse to change any of their present Tenets.

Why it is hard to set down the *Independents* positions.

How unwilling they are to declare their mind, may appear by their obstinate silence & refusing to answer any of these Books that put them most to it; also by hiding of their opinions from their Brethren, who most earnestly have prest their Declaration.

They have declined to declare their Tenets, more then hath ever been the custome of any Orthodox divines.

These divers years the Ministers of *London* have been dealing with them for satisfaction herein, and once by opportunity obtained a promise under their hand of a full and free Declaration but these four years they have eluded that promise (*a*).

Mr. *Apollonius* in the name of all the Churches of *Zealand* with all earnestnesse did intreat this duty of them, (*b*) but all in vain. When upon any occasion they have been moved to make any kind of Narration of their way, it was ever with an expresse *proviso* of their resolution to keep up as yet from the world their positive Tenets, so they conclude their *Apologeticke* (*c*) so they begin their *Keyes* (*d*).

When they shall be pleased to declare themselves to the full, their principle of change will hinder them to assure us that any thing is their setled, and firm Tenet, whereto they will be constant.

And now when the indignation both of the Assembly and Parliament, and of many more, was likely to break out upon them for this, that after so long time no plain dealing hath been seen in them, at last they have engaged themselves to declare their minds; and yet since that their publike engagement there are six months past, and the worlds expectation of understanding at last their mind is still suspended.

And though that their Declaration should come out to morrow, yet with what assurance can we take any thing therein for their constant and setled Tenet, so long as they professe it to be one of their chief principles to be so loose and irresolute in any thing they maintain for the time, that they are ready to leave it, and upon occasion to embrace the contrary (*e*)? So long as this

this Skeptick irresolution is avowed, there is no hope, there is no possibility of any fixed constancy.

The chief Tenets which hitherto they have given out, and not yet recalled, are these following.

These things considered, no man is able to set down their full mind, nor any one of their positions whereto any dare assure they will firmely stand; onely the chiefe of their singularities which they have been pleased to let come abroad, and have not to our knowledge as yet revoked, we shall set down as they come to our thoughts.

They reject the name of *Independents* unreasonably, and for their owne disadvantage.

It hath been hitherto their earnest desire to decline the infamy of *Brownisme*, and it was the charity of their Brethren to distinguish them from that Sect, under the new name of *Independents*: importing their chiefe difference from us to stand not in the point of Separation, which is our proper quarrel with the *Brownists*, but alone in the point of Church-Government, which against all the Reformed Churches they maintaine to be Independent, that is, not subject to the Authority and Jurisdiction of any Superiour Synod. This was thought to be their proper distinctive and characteristicall Tenet, till of late we finde them passionately reject the name of *Independents*, and tell us, that the dependency or independency of their Congregations will be found one of their least differences and smallest controversies.

In this our long mistake, we are content to be rectified; albeit our charity should not be reproved, who being ignorant of their willingnesse to differ from us in any thing higher or deeper then the Dependency of Congregations upon the Authority of Superiour Assemblies, did put upon them no other name then that which implyed the difference alone.

When it is laid aside, the more infamous name of *Brownists* and *Separatists* will justly fall upon them.

It seemes that this Title is not only the most reasonable, but the most innocent and inoffensive note of distinction, which themselves could have chosen: The terme not being invented by any of their ill-willers, but by their own chiefe Leaders (*f*) who did think that word most proper to notifie their Tenet of Government; and since some name must be given to every eminently differing party, it seemes none lesse irritative could be fallen upon then that which most properly did signifie the chiefe matter in Controversie.

But now finding they avow ther chiefe differences to lie elsewhere, for my part I could yeeld to them to have the name of *Independents* buried, did I not feare it behoved to be changed with

with another Title which would much more displease. For since they are gone beyond the question of Independent Government, and now do question the constitution of our Churches, so farre as puts them on a necessity of Separation, and in this doe place the chiefe of their Controversies with us. If a Sect may be denominated either from the Author or principall matter, as they make no bones to Print us *Calvinians* (*g*) and *Presbyterians* (*h*): I cannot conceive why they ought not to take it in good part, if when the name of *Independents* is laid by, they have in place of it, the Title of *Brownists* and *Separatists* fastened upon them.

Of their owne accord they take upon them openly the halfe of the thing we alledge, professing themselves to lie half way off us, towards *Brownisme* (*i*) avowing the truth to consist in this their middle way: But whosoever considers better of the matter, will find, that however in some things they incline to a middle way; yet in the chiefe and most, they come up close to the outmost line of *Brownisme*, and in many things do expatiate so much beyond it, that in place of the Semi-Separation they mention, they may be justly argued to have drawn upon themselves the blot of Sesqui-Separation, and more also: how true this is, it will appeare to any, who will be pleased to make a parallel of the fore-mentioned Tenets of the *Brownists* with these of the *Independents*, which here are subjoyned.

They avow a Semi-Separation, but a Sesqui-Separation will be proved upon them.

First, the worst & uttermost Tenet of the *Brownists* for which they took to themselves, and had bestowed upon them by others the stile of Separatists, was their doctrine & practise accordingly, to Separate from the Churches of *England*. In this the *Independents* go beyond them. For beside that the practise of both is the same, both actually Separating from all the Congregations in *England*; the grounds of the *Brownists* Separation were a great deale more reasonable, then that of the *Independents*, albeit neither of them be good and sufficient: For the *Brownists* did build their Separation on the Tyranny of Bishops, on the Superstition of the Ceremonies and Service-Book; on the grosse, avowed and neglected prophanesse of the most in every Congregation: if these corruptions had been removed, so farre as I have read in any of their Writings, they would no more have Separated. But the *Independents* have no such stumbling blocks in their way, Bishops

The *Independents* do separate from all the Reformed Churches upon far worse grounds then the *Brownists* were wont to separate.

and Books being aboliſhed, and a barre ſet up in every Congregation to keep off from the Sacrament, every ſcandalous and ignorant perſon, notwithſtanding they will yet Separate. The more unjuſt and leſſe cauſe they have ſo to do, their ſeparation muſt be ſo much the worſe, the groſſer and more inexcuſable Schiſme.

Their acknowledgement of the Reformed for true Churches doth not diminiſh, but increaſe their Schiſme.

What they ſay for the avoyding this challenge, will not hold water; while they tell us that they are not Separatiſts, becauſe they avow the Church of *England* to be a true and gracious Church; That the Miniſtry of it, is true and ſaving. They ſhould conſider that the *Brownifts*, when the fit of charity cometh upon them, ſay large as much as all this, as before from their owne words we have ſhown (*k*): alſo that ſome of the *Independent* Party have gone as far as that, which they confeſs makes the *Brownifts* to be juſtly called Schiſmaticks (*l*); but however, ſuppoſe their allegation were true, it doth not excuſe and diminiſh but much increaſe the fault of their ſeparation; For it is a greater ſin to depart from a Church which I profeſſe to be true, and whoſe Miniſtry I acknowledge to be ſaving, then from a Church which I conceive to be falſe, and whoſe Miniſters I take to have no calling from God, nor any bleſſing from his hand.

They refuſe all Church communion and membership in all the Reformed Churches; they preach and pray in them as they would do among pagans, only as gifted men to gather new churches

Neither are they cleared from the blot of Schiſme by their countenancing the Engliſh Aſſemblies, by their preaching and praying therein: for beſide that they do no more in this then Mr. *Robinſon* hath taught them (*m*); They ſhould remember they teach their Scholars, that Preaching, Prayer, Pſalmes, and all things they doe in the *Engliſh* Congregation, are no acts of Church Fellowſhip (*n*): that none of them doth import any Church Membership, nor any Eccleſiaſtick Communion: but are ſuch which without ſcruple they can diſpence to very Pagans.

But we would intreat them to declare if they would be willing to receive any Sacrament in the Engliſh Congregations, or if they will be content to be under any part of their Diſcipline, if they will be either Mẽbers or Officers in any of our Churches.

I ſee indeed the Apologiſts profeſs their participation of Baptiſm in our Congregations; but beſides that the *Brownifts* will profeſſe ſo much of themſelves (*o*); yet how this is conſiſtent with the conſtant practiſe and Doctrine of the *Independents*, I confeſſe my underſtanding is too blunt to conceive.

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For however in *New-England*, they give the right hand of Fellowship to the *Brownists* Congregations (*p*): and at *London* they are said to go to the *Brownists* Sacraments (*q*): and we did never heare that either in *England* or *Holland*, they refused any to be a Member for their beliefe of rigid separation, or Anabaptisme; nor censured any of their Members for falling into these errours: yet in formall termes, they do deny the most gracious of their Brethren to live beside them in *New-England* in the *Presbyteriall* way of the old Non-conformists (*r*): yea, in Print they avow, that whoever refuseth their Tenet of *Independency*, were they otherwise never so Orthodox and pious, they ought not to be admitted to the Sacraments, nor enjoy any Church Priviledge (*s*): as people who cannot be wholly, but at most are in part only converted: Yea, as such who must be taken for Anti-christian spirits, for enemies to Christ and his Kingdome (*t*): neither have I heard that any of them now for many yeares have either celebrated to others or received themselves the Sacraments in any English Church.

And when it was propounded that they might take charge in some of the best Reformed Congregations of *England*: with a full assurance of a personall dispensation to them for their whole life, if they would leave but that one intollerable Tenet of Separation; to this day they have disregarded that kind and brotherly Accommodation; shewing expressly that in this point of separate Congregations they would be tolerated, or nothing else would satisfie their consciences; beyond this their best friends were not able by their long and earnest endeavours for divers weekes together to draw them one haires-breadth (*w*): if this be not a more cleare and a more inexcusable Separation then was ever yet laid to the charge of any *Brownists*, I professe my utter mistake of the nature of Schisme, and desire to be rectified.

About the matter of the Church and qualification of members, they are large as strict as the *Brownists*, admitting none but who convinces the whole Congregation of their reall regeneration.

The next singularity of the *Brownists*, their Doctrine of the constitution of the Church in matter and forme, the *Independents* have borrowed to the full; and not only enlarged it, but when all other grounds faile, upon this alone they build the necessity of their Separation.

Concerning the matter of the Church, the *Independents* have learned all their unjust scrupulocity from the other; as the *Brownists* require every Church-member to be a Saint, really regene-

rate and justified, who at their admission have publikely satisfied the whole Congregation by convincing signes of their true holinesse: the other requires the same (*x*). What ever indulgence here the *Independents* professe to give, either to weake ones in whom they find the least of Christ, or to women whom they remit from the Congregation to speak more privately in the Eldership (*y*), this is no other then the present practise of the *Brownists* at *Amsterdam*.

Besides true grace they require a sutableness of spirit.

Only we observe, that the *Independents* here go further from the Reformed Churches, both in the strictnesse, and in the loosenesse of their satisfactions. The *Brownists* are satisfied with the signes of personall grace, but the *Independents* require more; they proceed to a triall by a long conversation of the sociable and complying disposition of the person to be admitted, with the spirits of the whole Church whereof he is to be a member (*z*); Without this sutableness of spirit they will reject them whom otherwise they find to be Saints (*a a*).

But in this they are laxer then the *Brownists*, they can take in without scruple *Anabaptists*, *Antinomians*, and others, who both in life and doctrine have evident blots, if so they be zealous and serviceable for their way.

But their chiefe excesse here is in loosnesse. The *Brownists* will not dispence with known errors and sins in their members; they will not admit of *Anabaptists*, of proud, luxurious, contentious people. If they find any such to have crept in among them, they professe their judgement is for the casting out by censures. But the *Independents* will here be more wise for the encrease of their party: and however they will have nothing to do with *Presbyterians* (*b b*), nor with such people who can live in their confused Congregations; yet they make it their rule to hold out none for any errour that is not fundamentall, nor for any sinne that is not continued in against conscience (*c c*); walking according to this rule, they swallow downe without trouble the small gnats of *Anabaptisme*, and all other Sects, who erre not fundamentally, and obstinately, and against conscience: how many Sectaries are thus far guilty, who can determine? The little spot of luxury in apparell, in diet, and many fleshly delights, of strife, of disdainfull raylings and such other faults (as are too common in their members) are of easie digestion (*d d*).

About the forme of the Church, a Church Covenant, they are more punctual then the *Brownists*.

Concerning the other part of the Church essence, its forme, their Covenant: in this the Disciples go much above their Master. Mr. *Cotton* hath perfected by an expresse Treatise, this part of *Brownisme* (*e e*), as many others. The Covenants of *New-England*

land are much straiter then any that ever we heard of at *Amsterdam*. It is true that of late both in *Old* and *New England* the *Independents* seeme much to modifie the rigour of their Covenant (*ff* 1); but whatever may be said of their profession, I never could learn of their practise, to admit any into their society who gave not full assurance of embracing their whole way, and all their differences from the Reformed Churches. Sure I am, they did never admit any upon easier termes then lately I my selfe did heare Mr. *Can* admit a member into his Church at *Amsterdam*; yet if Mr. *Prynnes* information be well grounded, they are become at *London* more rigid in their Covenant then ever; he tells us that now it is their custome to make it a part of their Oath to oppugne the Government of the Reformed Churches, and to defend Independencie with armes and violence, (*ff* 2).

They take the power of gathering and erecting of Churches both from Magistrates and Ministers, placing it only in the hands of few private Christians, who are willing to make among themselves a Church-Covenant.

Unto the constitution we may referre the efficient of a Church, and the number of its members; in both the Schollars follow punctually their Master. As for the efficient, it is not only the *Brownists*, but the *Independents* also who put the power of gathering Churches, and joyning together by Covenant in a Church way, in the hand of private Christians alone without any Officer, or the authority of any Magistrate. It is presumption in any Minister, if he assay to make up a Church; only people must associate themselves into a Church, and then create their Ministers and other Officers (*gg*).

This power of erecting themselves into a compleat and perfect Church they give to any seven persons, neither admit they more into a Church then it can altogether in one place commodiously administer the Sacraments and Discipline.

In *New England* at the erection of a new Church, they are content with the presence both of the Magistrate and Ministers of the neighbouring Churches; but they declare that neither is necessary, and that the presence of either gives no authority to the action, and the absence of both detracts no authority from it (*hh*.) That the whole power to gather a Congregation and to erect a Church is alone in the covenanting persons (*ii*.)

As for the number of the members, the *Independents* go as low as the *Brownists*, avowing that seven persons make a full Ministeriall and compleatly organized Church (*kk*): nor do they extend the number any farther then the *Brownists* avowing that no Church, except the Universall, may have any more members then conveniently can meet and be accommodated in one place for the exercise of all holy duties (*ll*), not only preaching of the Word, whereat thousands may be present, but celebration of the Sacraments

Sacraments, and administring all parts of Discipline; to which acts a few hundreds cannot commodiously meet.

The *Independents* mind about the gathering and erecting of Congregations, may be clearly perceived by their late practise in the *Sommer Islands*, wherein they are applauded by the Churches of *New England*, and defended by Mr. *White* against Mr. *Prynns Fresh Discovery*, with a great deale of confidence and high language: there he justifies the necessity of the dissolution of all the Churches in the *Barmudaes* (which yet he professes were among the best of all the English Plantations;) there were above 3000 people in the Isle, who had lived without all controversie with any of their Ministers from their first planting till the yeare 1641. when their Ministers perswaded by some writs of the Brethren of *New-England*, found it necessary to lay downe their charges, and become meere private men, denying to administer to their old flocks any Ordinance, till three of them entring in a Covenant, and thereby becomming a new Church, did perswade of the 3000 Islanders some thirty or forty at most to joyne with them in their new Church-Covenant; these covenanted persons did chuse one of their old Ministers for their Pastor, and two others of them for Ruling Elders, who as gifted men were content to joyn with the Pastor in Preaching, not only to the Church-members, but to the whole Isle, to fit them to be Church-members; but all the three refused absolutely to celebrate any Sacrament, or administer any Discipline, or do any act of a Pastor to any but to the forty named only. All this Mr. *White* maintains as just and necessary, and petitions the Parliament in Print for their concurrence and approbation; whereby it seemes it is the *Independents* avowed and cleare intention when they have power, to dissolve and annull all the Churches of *England*, yea, of the world, to spoile all Ministers living of their pastorall charge, and all people of all Church priviledges, and erect new Churches of their owne framing, into which they are to admit at most not one of a hundred of those who now doe count themselves Christians: all this you may see at length in Mr. *Whites* very peremptory *Reply* to Mr. *Prynns Fresh Discovery*.

The *Independents* will have all the standing Churches in *England* dissolved, and all their Ministers to become meerly private men, and any three persons of their way to be a full Church.

Unto this Church of seven persons they give all and the whole Church power and that Independently.

Leaving the constitution, their chiefe Tenets concerne the power of the Congregation, so constituted as is said: in this they come up fully to their Masters side; for they give unto the

Church

Church, that is, their seven covenanted persons, the whole Ecclesiastick power, and that independently upon any person under heaven.

Unto this Congregationall Church alone they give the full power of election and ordination, of deposition & excommunication even of al their Officers, and of the finall determination of all Ecclesiastick causes.

First, they put in their hands to create all the Officers; they not only give them suffrages in their election, (*mm*) but the whole power of Ordination also (*nn*), the examination of their Pastor in all the abilities requisite for his charge (*oo*), the laying all the parts of his Office upon him, publique prayer, imposition of hands, and what other acts are requisite for a regular Ordination are all performed by one of the people whom the rest have appointed for that end (*pp*).

As they have power to make all their Officers, so they have power to unmake them, to depose, and excommunicate all their Ministers (*qq*), to cognosce and finally to determine, without any appeale, in all cases, both in life and doctrine, of all Heresies and Schismes, of all Truthes and Errours, to order all things belonging to the worship of God, and to doe all things else (*rr*) which other Churches ascribe to the most Generall Assemblies of the most learned Divines.

The diffrence of *Johnson* and *Ainsworth* about the power of the people and Presbytery distinct one from the other, is not yet composed among the *Independents*.

Upon this passage of Power come in the differences which divided the *Brownists* among themselves: whilst *Johnson* would give all these acts of Power to the Eldership, and *Ainsworth* would keepe them for the Congregation: these same questions vex the *Independents* to this day, and are likely to divide the Children as they did the Fathers.

The most of the New English Divines, with *Ainsworth*, attribute the whole Ecclesiastick power to the body of the people: unto the Eldership they give the preparation of affairs (*ss*), but the judgement and determination of all doth passe by the plurality of the peoples voyces (*tt*): the power of the keyes they put in the hand not of the Presbytery, but of the fraternity (*ww*), as they speak. And in some places upon the peoples sense of the Presbyteries encroching and fear of their further usurpation, they have thought it expedient to have no Eldership at all, as in *Amsterdam* the *Brownists*, so in *Rotterdam* the *Independents*, for these many yeares have had no ruling Elders, and so no Presbytery (*xx*); but have governed all their affaires by the voyces of the people: and why might they not as well live without ruling Elders,

The common Doctrine of *New-England* is *Ainsworths* Tenet, that the people alone have all the power, & may excommunicate when there is cause all their Officers.

Mr. *Cotton* the other yeare did fall much from them and himselfe towards *Johnson*, that the whole power of authority is only in the Officers, and the people have nothing but the power of liberty to concurre, that the Officers can doe nothing without the people, nor the people any thing but by the Officers. Yet that both Officers and people, or one of them have power to separate themselves from all the rest when they find cause.

ders, as their Brethren at *Arnem* for divers yeares did live without a Pastor (*yyy*) the more necessary Officer.

Mr. *Cotton* and some others feeling to their small contentment the great and intolerable power of the people over the Eldership, have begun to fall from *Ainsworth* to *Johnson*, and to plead the Authority of the Eldership above the Brotherhood, and the necessity of their subjection by divine right to the Elders as to their Superiours; (*zzz*) yet to salve all, and to please both parties, hee makes the concurrence of the Eldership and Brotherhood to be both necessary, to be both *sine quo non* (*aaaa*): whatever Authority he give to the Eldership, he maketh all vaine and frustaneous without the consent of the people (*bbbb*): and notwithstanding all the obedience and subjection he putteth upon the people, yet he giveth to them such a power of Liberty, that their concurrence with the Eldership in every act of power is not only necessary but authoritative (*cccc*).

He goes yet one step further in case of the obstinate and incorrigible aberration of the Presbytery; he gives power to the people, albeit not to execute any act of power, yet to separate from the obstinate Eldership (*dddd*), and out of their owne number to make new Elders, who will be willing to administer censures, and do all else that they conceive to be right.

For all this, so far as we can learne, there is yet no full agreement among them, either in *New* or *Old England*, in setting the merch-stones of power betwixt the Eldership and brotherhood: many Schoole-distinctions they use, yet by them all they cannot come to concord. The *Independents* here confesse their agreement with Mr. *Cotton* in the chiefe things wherein he differs from his Brethren in *New England*, and from his owne selfe in his late Book of *the Way of the Churches*: they applaud much his new invented distinction of the power of Authority, and the power of Liberty (*eeee*). Yet in other things they avow their dissent from him (*ffff*) what these other things may be, they yet have not had leisure to informe us. I hope it be not the extent of Church power unto women, and the giving of a power to celebrate Sacraments unto private men, which yet are said to be the Tenets of some of their friends.

It is true, the Synod of *New England* maketh not only the fraternity,

ternity, but as they ſpeak, the ſorority alſo to be the ſubject of the private power of the Keyes of the Kingdome of heaven (*ggg*); alſo we have ſhewen how they have permitted women to be Leaders to their whole Churches, and chiefe Paſtors in Church actions of the higheſt nature: we have good witneſſes that a woman was the founder of Mr. *Simpſons* Church at *Roterdam* (*hhh*); that a woman, and that none of the beſt, led away Mr. *Cotton*, and with him great numbers of the beſt note in *New England*, towards the vileſt errors, and to the brink of a new ſeparation from all the Churches there (*iii*). Notwithſtanding all this, none of the *Independents*, either in *New England* or *Holland*, neither the *Browniſts* of *Amſterdam*, did ever give unto any women any publicke Eccleſiaſtick power. In this, our *London Independents* exceed all their Brethren, who of late begin to give unto women power of debating in the face of the Congregation, and of determining Eccleſiaſticke cauſes by their ſuffrages, if Doctor *Baſtwick* be rightly informed (*kkk*).

The London *Independents* gives more power of Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction then the *Browniſts* unto women.

Concerning the power of the Sacraments, Miſtris *Chidley* is permitted to Print in defence of the Independent cauſe, without the reproofe of any of that party, ſo far as I have heard, that not only Paſtors, but private men out of all office, may lawfully celebrate both the Sacraments (*lll*).

Some of them permit private men to celebrate the Sacraments.

However, in theſe & other things there may be great difference among them in the point of Church power, yet that which is the principall point in this head of power, the matter of Independency, in it there is a full and perfect agreement among them all. Whatever power, whether of Liberty or Authority, be in the Congregation, organicall, or homogeneous, radically or habitually, in the Brotherhood or Elderſhip, conjunctly or ſeverally; whatever power it be, or whereſoever it be, all of them place it in the Congregation, without any ſubjection to any other Superiour (*mmm*). The word of *Independency*, ſome of them do much abominate, and yet but ſome; for there are of their chiefe Leaders this day, who do not miſlike it (*nnn*); but whatever we ſpeake of the word, the matter which every man did underſtand by it, is ſtifly maintained by them all. In nothing there is greater concord among them then that in the ſmalleſt Congregations, even of ſeven perſons, the whole Eccleſiaſtick power doth reſide

Browniſts and *Independents* doe perfectly agree in the point of *Independency*.

absolutely without any dependence upon, or subjection to any, or all the creatures on earth (ooo).

If a corrupt or negligent *Presbytery* doe not censure their owne members, all the Assemblies in the world may not attempt to censure any of them, though most apparently they did corrupt a whole Nation with the grossest Heresies or most scandalous vices.

Whatever may be said of a charitable advice or friendly counsell, or brotherly rebuke; yet if you speake of any authoritative power to censure, all of them avow that the offer of this from all Assemblies of a Nation, or of the world, is Antichristian Tyranny (ppp): and for any person in the smallest Congregation to receive, or submit themselves to any such censure, were to betray and cast away the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free (qqq). So that it is utterly unlawfull for all the Churches of the World to inflict the least censure, or to give the smallest admonition in order to any censure, not only to any Congregation, but to any one man therein, suppose he were never so erroneous, never so scandalous; although he did infect and destroy, not only all the soules of that Congregation, but as a common pest, did corrupt the Churches of a whole Nation, or if it were possible, of of the whole World (rrr).

The point of *Independency* is either the root or the fruit of many errours.

This strange Tenet seemeth to be either the root or the fruit, either the mother or the daughter of all the rest of their errours: the mother and root, because a few persons having locked themselves up within the narrow walls of one Congregation, with an *Independent* power, having made themselves uncontrolable by any or all upon earth; they open a wide doore to any erroneous spirit, to mislead them towards whatever fancie can enter into any cracked braine, without all possibility of any effectuall remedy; the daughter and fruit, because men who are conscious to themselves of singularities, which they feare will not be liked nor tolerated by others, upon their fond love towards these errours, do affect such a liberty which may exempt them from all danger to be ordained by any censure to relinquish these darlings, which they have resolved to keepe still in their bosome.

To temper the crudity of this Tenet, they adde to it three moderating positions, but for little purpose.

The fatuity of this Tenet they use to season with the graines of three more sapid positions: First, they grant the being of Classicall *Presbyteries* and Synods (fff). Secondly, they ascribe to them the censure of Non-Communion (sss). Thirdly, they allow the Magistrate to correct Heretical and Schismatical persons (www). But if they will consider, they shall find that in none of those positions they go beyond the *Brownists*, and by them all they doe

not

not any whit cure the disease of *Independency*.

For the first, they admit not of any Classicall *Presbytery* differing from a Synod; for what ever they speak of their granting gladly unto us all the degrees and Subordinations of Assemblies which we could wish: yet betwixt a Congregationall Eldership and a Synod, they grant not any interposition of a Classis; or compounded *Presbytery* over more Congregations then one (*xxx*) which kind of *Presbytery* the Reformed Churches make the first and ordinary subject of Ordination, and of sundry acts of Jurisdiction: esteeming it a Judicatory specifically different both from the inferiour Eldership of a single Congregation and the Superiour Synod, whether of a Shire or a Province, or a Nation, or of more, or of all Nations.

They grant the being of Synods, but not of Classicall *Presbyteries*.

Besides, that Synod whereof they approve, is only a *Brownisticall* one, such as needeth not to be moderated by any Preacher (*yyy*); at the which any man who pleaseth may be present to debate, and vote decisively (*zzz*). Yea, they go here much beyond the *Brownists* and their Brethren of *New-England* also; for they deny that the 15 of the *Acts*, is either a pattern or ground for any Synod (*aaaa*), expressly contrary to Mr. *Cottons* latest Doctrine; neither will they have any ordinary or set Synods but only occasionall; and when the occasion of a Synod commeth, they will have it to be meerly elective (*bbbb* 1): consisting of such persons alone as themselves please to chuse, not only of the Churches of their own *Independent* way alone, but also of such only among these as themselves think meet to pitch upon (*bbbb* 2): if a Classis or Synod be of any other temper, they count it so corrupt and so tyrannicall a Court, that they could not countenance it with their presence; yea, not so much as they would do an Episcopall Sea (*cccc*): the one being much worse then the other: that the *Brownists Independency* went ever thus far I do not know.

Their Synods are meerely *Brownisticall* without all Jurisdiction, wherein every one of the people may vote; also meerely elective and only occasionall.

As for their sentence of Non-Communion, it is one of Mr. *Cottons* new additions to old *Brownisme* (*dddd*); which it seemes rather to embitter then sweeten; for it is a meer humane invention to supply the Ordinances of God, which men injuriously have cast away: when they have denied to Synods the power of these censures which God hath appointed, and finde themselves straightned by the absolute necessity of the matter, to take up a-

The sentence of Non-Communion, is Mr. *Cottons* invention to supply that defect which themselves make in the Ordinances of God.

gain either them or their equivalent: they will not be so changeable as to resume the censures whereof God is the Author, having once cast them away: but in their place they are forced to find out some of their owne, these their new declarations and abstentions from fellowship, and such like new censures of their owne making.

It puts in the hand of every man a power to sentence all the Churches of the world.

But which is worst of all, these their new censures if there be any force in them, advance their *Independency* to the highest degree of power, or rather lift it up higher in the aire, and by a repugnancy and contradiction, make it evaporate to nothing; for this Non-Communion giveth power to every one, even the smallest Congregation, over all the Churches in the World it pleaseth to deale with, so far as to admonish, rebuke, declare against them all, and cast them all out of her Communion (****). The Reformed Churches contend only for a power to a great Assembly, for censuring a faulty member of a small Congregation; but this Non-Communion gives to the smallest Congregation of any seven persons, the power of sentencing the whole Churches and all the Assemblies in the World.

Howbeit, this Non-Communion, seemes to be contradictory and destructive of that *Independency* which it was invented to salve: For if every Congregation be *Independent*, how shall all Congregations be so dependent upon every one, that any the least may inflict this high censure upon the greatest, yea upon all.

Beside, this Non-Communion is nothing but the highest straine of separation that ever any *Brownist* aymed at; it giveth a power for any Church to deny Communion to all Churches, and to live separate without all Communion with any Church for ever.

It carries to the highest degree of Separation.

This produceth another power of a further separation, to wit, a power to every member of that separate Church upon any grievance not satisfied to separate himselfe, and either live alone, as many doe, or to gather a new Church, of any whom they find willing to associate with them: these things are brought not so much for reasons to evert the positions in hand; as to shew how unfit limitations they are of the extravagancy which appeareth in *Independency*, and how much they runne out beyond the bound which they pretend to in them.

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As for their third Tenet of the Magistrates concurrence, to second their sentence of Non-Communion, besides that the *Brownists* go as farre as ever any of them did in this (*ffff*): we see now that the chiefe of them have recalled the Tenet: though all the Protestant Churches, and none more then they of *New England*, doe maintaine the Magistrates power to suppresse errours; yet this unhappy love towards liberty, whereinto the *Independent* Party here amongst us have lately fallen, makes them to intreat the Magistrate to let alone the affaires of Religion, though they runne into all the confusion whither Satan and his Instruments are able to carry them (*gggg*) If the Magistrates feare of God doth stop his eare to such impious petitions, then they flee up very high, even to the deniall and decrying of all the Magistrates Power in matters of Religion (*hhhh*); which yet the Papists in *England* and the *Arminians*, in *Holland*, who have beene the greatest pleaders hitherto for liberty, were never bold to impugne; but of this more hereafter.

Their supply of the defects of *Independency* by the power of the Magistrate, was a remedy which they learned from the *Brownists*, but now they have cast aside, denying to the Magistrate all power in matters of Religion.

I hope I have demonstrated that in the point of Separation and of the constitution and government of the Church, the great and onely intended Articles of the *Brownists*, our Brethren the *Independents* come nothing behind them: Sure, in these their conceits they applaud themselves no lesse then the former; they put in these things the very Kingdome of Christ: all their opposites in these fancies, they make enemies, to Christs Kingdome (*iiii*): they avow *Independency* to be a beginning, and a part of that glorious Kingdome which Christ for a thousand yeares is to enjoy upon the earth (*kkkk*).

The *Independents* doe advance their fancies to as high a pitch of glory as the *Brownists*.

They are the *Brownists* schollers in many more things beside the Constitution and Government of the Church.

Concerning the worship of God and other heads of Divinity, what ever crotchets the *Brownists* have fallen into, the *Independents* Punctually doe follow the most and worst of them: and if in any they come short, they are sure to exceede in other things more dangerous.

First, for the marriage blessing, they applaud the *Brownists* Doctrin, they send it from the Church to the Town-house, making its solemnization the duty of the Magistrate (*llll*); this is the constant practise of all in *New-England*: the prime of the *Independent* Ministers now at *London*, have beene married by the Magistrate, and all that can be obtained of any of them, is to be content

They give to the Magistrate the Celebration of Marriage.

that

that a Minister in the name of the Magistrate and as his Commissioner may solemnize that holy band.

M. *Milton* permits any man to put away his wife upon his meere pleasure, without fault, and without the cognisance of any Judge.

Concerning Divorces, some of them go far beyond any of the *Brownists*, not to speake of Mr. *Milton*, who in a large Treatise hath pleaded for a full liberty for any man to put away his wife, when ever he pleaseth, without any fault in her at all, but for any dislike or dyspathy of humour (*m m m m*); for I do not know certainly whether this man professeth *Independency* (albeit all the Hereticks here, whereof ever I heard, avow themselves *Independents*); what ever therefore may be said of Mr. *Milton*, yet Mr. *Gorting* and his Company were men of renown among the *New-English Independents* before Mistresse *Hutchinsons* disgrace; and all of them do maintain, that it is lawfull for every woman to desert her husband, when he is not willing to follow her in her Church-way, and to take her selfe for a widow, looſed from the bond of obedience to him, onely because hee lives without that Church whereof shee is become a member (*n n n n*).

Mr. *Gorting* teaches the wife to put away her husband, if he will not follow her in any new Church-way which she is pleased to embrace.

Concerning the circumstances of the worship of God, they will have nothing determined, but all which Scripture hath not determined, to be left so free, that all Directories are much against their stomacks. How much they did crosse that gracious and excellent work of the Directory for the three Kingdoms, and when it was begun, how long did they retard it; and after it was brought to an end, though all the mountains of impediments which they did cast up in its way; how earnest they were by slight of hand to have put in its Preface such phrases as might have altogether made frustrate the use of it, is well knowne to many; yea, when a Directory for the three Nations is established by the Assemblies and Parliaments of both Kingdomes, they are bold so far to slight it, as to write unto the very Parliament, that uniformity is but a matter of forme, in the which for peace sake men will come up so far as conscience can permit, intimating that all our covenanted uniformity must be resolved into the free-will or erroneous conscience of every private man.

They are against all determinations of the circumstances of worship, and therefore all Church Directories are against their stomacks.

The common names of the dayes of the weeke, the monthes of the yeare, of many Churches and Cities of the Land, are as unlawfull to them as to the *Brownists*.

In the abolishing of the monuments of Idolatry, they agree so farre with the *Brownists*, that they will not name the dayes of the weeke, the monthes of the yeare, the places of meeting after the ordinary manner (*o o o o*); yet they make no scruple to use the

the Churches builded in the time of Popery, nor of Bels, though invented by a Pope, and baptized with all the Popish superstitions: how this doth stand with their principles, I do not well know, especially with their practice about another circumstance, the Church-maintenance.

For, the ancient way of maintenance by Tythes, or Lands, or set Stipends, they do refuse, (*pppp*) and require here the reduction of the Apoholique practice: They count it necessary that all the Church-Officers should live upon the charge of the congregation, the Ruling Elders and Deacons as well as the Pastors and Doctors; (*qqqq*) but all they will have them to receive is a meer alms, a voluntary contribution, laid down as an offering at the Deacons feet every Lords day, and by him distributed to all the Officers and the Poor of the congregation, according as they have need (*rrrr*). This is their doctrine, but it seems they are weary long ago of its practice. The *Brownists* (as I heare) are yet constant to practice what they teach, allowing their Ministers for their better supply, and that they may not be too burdensome to the Congregation, the use of handy Trades; but the *Independents* of *New-England* have a better provision, not only a proportion of Land, but a certain Tax of money laid on by the Magistrate, both upon the members of the congregation, and upon all the neighbours, though not received members of any Church (*ssss*). These also of *London*, *Arnhem*, and *Roterdam*, have been famous for a sufficient care of a set provision, above the ordinary, to the rate of two or three hundred pounds a yeare (*tttt*). And left their Income should decrease with too large deduction for the supply of the poor, it hath been their providence to admit none or few poor members of their Congregations (*wwww*).

All tithes and set maintenance of Ministers they cry down, but a voluntary contribution for the maintenance of all their Officers, they presse to a high proportion, with the evident prejudice of the poor.

In their solemn worship oft times they make one to pray, another to preach, a third to prophesie, a fourth to direct the Psalm, and another to blesse the people.

Concerning other circumstances, the form of their Church, and Pulpit, and such like, I have not observed any difference in the meeting-houses of the one at *Roterdam*, & the other at *Amsterdam*.

For the parts of the worship, as I take it, there is little difference; only the *Independents* seem in their administration more to vary the persons; sometimes they make one to pray, and another to preach, a third to prophesie, and a fourth to dismisse with a blessing. (*xxxx*)

In the ordering of the parts of their worship after Mr. *Cottons* invention, they take it for an Apostolick injunction to begin first of all with a large solemn Prayer for the King and the Church, applying the words of the Apostle against the cleare scope of the Text, and all the writers which I have consulted upon it, to this very method of the Ordinances, and to this matter of the first prayer. (*yyyy*)

They make it a divine institution, without any word of preface, to begin the publike worship with solemn prayer for the King and Church.

After the Pastors prayer, the Doctor reads and expounds.

After the Prayer, the Doctor proceeds to read and expound: their ordinary Practice here agrees with the other, but their Doctrine differeth; for the *Independents* at *London* grant, that Reading by it self without Exposition, is a divine ordinance, however in their practice they conjoyn both.

In preaching they will be free to take a Text, or not, as they find it expedient.

In Preaching, they differ from the *Brownists* and us, and joyn with the Popish Monks; they will not be tied to a Text of Scripture for the ground of their discourse, but will be at liberty to run out on whatsoever matter they think most fit and expedient for their hearers. (*zzzz*)

After Sermon any of the people whom they think able, are permitted to prophesie.

About Prophesying after Sermon, they are at a full agreement, permitting to any private man of the flock, or to any stranger whom they take to be gifted, publikely to expound and apply the Scripture, to pray, and to blesse the people. They permit two or three of these, after the end of the Sermon, to exercise their gifts. (*aaaaa*)

All are permitted to propound in the face of the congregation what questions upon the Sermon they think meet.

When the exercise of the Prophets is ended, they use another Ordinance of questioning the Preachers and Prophets by any member of the congregation, about any point of the Doctrine; (*bbbbb*) but this exercise, as also the former, hath proved so unhappy in *New-England*, that gladly there they would be quit of both. (*ccccc*)

About the Psalms they have divers strange conceits; but the speciall is their new ordinance of a singing Prophet, who in place of the Psalmes singeth Hymns of his own making, in the midst of the silent Congregation.

In the Psalmes the *Independents* wander wider then their teachers; some of them will have no songs in the time of publique judgements: (*ddddd*) others will not permit women to sing in the Church: (*eeeee*) but the greatest difference is, that the *Independents* of *Arnheim* did stop the mouths of all but one, who

did

did sing the Hymne which himselfe had composed, in the midst of the Congregation for their edification (*fffff*).

In Prayer they fall short of their masters; for however they use no set Prayer, yet they are so farre from esteeming of it Idolatry, that they professe both set and read Prayer to be lawfull (*ggggg*): The Lords Prayer they commend to be said even in publike, and they permit private men to read prayer in their families (*hhhhh*); in this they have Mr *Robinson* for their guide; yet at *London* their practice is constantly to forget the Lords Prayer.

They grant the lawfulnes of read prayer in divers cases

In the Sacrament of Baptism the *Independents* lay a path way to Anabaptism; for first they come close up to the most rigid *Brownists*, denying Baptism to the most part of Christian Infants; yea, they will grant it to a very few; to these alone whose immediate parents are members of their Congregation (*iiiii*), who are a wonderfull poore handfull: all other Infants they will have unbaptized till they come to the yeares of understanding, and declare not only their actuall faith and holinesse, but their subjection to the Kingdom of Christ, that is to their Independency: they will have no stipulation made for the Infants education; they dispute much for dipping, though they deny not the lawfulnesse of sprinkling (*kkkkk*).

They will have none to be baptized, but the children of their own members; so at one dash they put all *England*, except a very few of their way, into the stile of *Pagans* turning them all out of the Christian church, denying to them Sacraments, Discipline, church-officers, and all that they would deny to the *Pagans* of *America*.

But that which maketh men most afraid for their Anabaptism, is their open deserting all the Reformed Churches, and the *Brownists* themselves, in three grounds.

They open a door to Anabaptism by 3 further positions.

First, they deny the fœderall holinesse of Christian children; against this *Tho. Goodwin* did preach, and deny openly that common distinction of Protestants of reall and fœderall holinesse, requiring in every Infant to be baptized a reall and inherent sanctity. If this ground be maintained, I see not how Anabaptism, or else Arminianism, will be avoyded; for if this reall holinesse above fœderall, be the great ground of Baptism, and this cannot be asserted in the judgement of verity of any Infant; for whatever we say of the judgement of charity, yet in the judgement of truth, and with the certainty of faith wherewith we must assent to every Scripture: who can say that any particular Infant is holy, and so that any Infant should be baptized? or if we can say in the judgement of truth, that every baptized Infant is really sanctified, as it

1. They require in all to be baptised a reall holinesse above a fœderall, which in no Infant with any certainty can be found.

it seems Mr. *Robinson* hath taught Mr. *Goodwin*, if Mr. *Rathband* understand aright the 309. p. of *Rob.* justification (*kkkkk*2) the Arminians have won the field; for no man doubts but many baptized infants, even in their way, do fall away totally and finally from whatsoever holinesse can be supposed to be in them. If these inextricable difficulties did move Mr. *Goodwin* to stop the Presse that it went not on with his Sermons against the Anabaptists, himself doth know.

2. They esteem none for their Baptisme and christian education, a member of their Church, till they have entred themselvs in their church covenant.

Secondly, they esteem not baptized infants to be members of their Church before they have entred into their Covenant; till then they hold them from the Lords table, and all the acts of Discipline, as people without the Church, and not members of it (*llll*): If it be so, their Baptisme was of so small use, that well they might have wanted it to the time of their admission to be members.

3. They call none of their members to any account before their Presbytery for obstinate rejecting of Pædobapaism although the *Brownists* do excommunicate for that sinne.

Thirdly, they account Anabaptisme a very tolerable errour; so far as ever we heard to this day, they did never so much as rebuke any of their members for it, much contrary to the practice of the *Brownists*, and of their Brethren in *New-England*, who ever have removed the Anabaptists from their churches, as Sectaries of a speciall evill note. We have long observed the great affection of *Independents* here, towards them who professed opposition to Pædobaptism, but did never expect to have heard them declare any thing toward the Arminian errors of the Anabaptists.

They participate with none of the Reformed churches in the Lords supper, yet they scruple not to communicate with *Brownists* & *Anabaptists*.

The Lords supper they desire to celebrate at night after all other Ordinances are ended (*mmmmm*); albeit the *Brownists* now take it in the forenoon.

In the persons who do communicate, they are as strict as any of the *Brownists*; for notwithstanding all that their Brethren of *New-England*, and themselves also, and their Apology do professe, of their communicating of the Sacrament with the rest of the Reformed churches, which sometimes also is the *Brownists* profession; yet it is told them without reply to this day, that in *London*, however they have admitted *Brownists* and *Anabaptists* to their Sacrament, and they have communicated in the *Brownists* Congregations (*nnnnn*); yet that none of them have ever offered to participate of the holy Communion in any other Congregation, nor have admitted any to communicate with them

them, who were not of their own way (*ooooo.*)

For the manner of their celebration, they who have seen it, profesſe it to be in a very dead and comfortleſſe way: it is not as in *New-England*, once in the moneth, but as at *Amſterdam*, once every Lords day (*ppppp*), which makes the action much leſſe ſolemn then in any other of the Reformed churches, and in this too much like the daily Maſſes of the Church of *Rome*.

Their way of celebrating the Lords ſupper, is more dead & comfortles then any where elſe.

They have no preparation of their flock before: they are ſo happy as to have all their members prepared alwayes ſufficiently for the Lords table, from their firſt entrance into their Church, to their dying day; for all this time there is no catechiſing among them, this exerciſe is below their condition, and altogether needleſſe in any of their congregations. They will have no Sermon in the week before, nor ſo much as any warning of the Communion. This practice of *New-England*, to give warning the Sabbath before, is diſlikied now at *London*, nor muſt there be any Sermon of Thankſgiving after that Sacrament: They uſe not ſo much as a little application of the Doctrine in the Sermon before it to that occaſion (*qqqqq*).

They have no Catechiſing, no preparation, nor thankſgiving ſermon ordnarily they ſpeak no word of the Sacrament in their ſermons and prayers either before or after

When they come to the action, there is no more but one little diſcourſe, and one ſhort prayer of the Miniſter: all the time of the participation, there is nothing in the Congregation but a dumbe ſilence; no reading, no exhortation, no Pſalmes: their people need no ſuch meanes to furniſh them in their Sacramentall meditations: they have alſo learned from the *Browniſts* a double and diſtinct conſecration, one for every element apart.

They have only a little diſcourſe, and ſhort prayer in the conſecration of both the Elements; thereafter in the action nothing but dumbe ſilence, no exhortation, reading, Pſalm.

They have another difference from all the Reformed, and in a part alſo from their Brethren of *New-England*, that their conformity with the *Browniſts* may be full.

The *New-Engliſh* do count ſitting at a Table not only to be neceſſary, but to be a part of our imitation of Chriſt, and a Rite ſignificant of divers heavenly priviledges and comforts (*rrrrr*) But as the *Browniſts* at *Amſterdam* this day have no table at all, as they ſend the Elements from the Pulpit (the place where the Miniſter preacheth and celebrateth the Sacrament) by the hand of the Deacon to all the congregation, where in their meeting houſe they ſit up and down in their ſeverall places: So the *Independents* at *London* do vehemently contend for the needleſneſſe of any to

They require none of their members to come out of their Pews to the Table. And they acknowledge no more uſe of a Table, than the *Browniſts* at *Amſterdam*, who have none at all.

to come to the Table, whatever be the practice of all the reſt of the Reformed Churches: But they will have the holy Seales carried from the place where the Miniſter preaches to the people in their Pews, or where ever elſe they have their ordinary places for hearing of the Word; although moſt eaſily in their ſmall Congregations without any diſturbance all might bee brought to the Table (*ſſſſſ*).

They teach the expediency of covering the head at the Lords Table.

But their maine difference from all the Reformed, and greateſt conſonancy with the *Browniſts*, is in this, that as they teach all outward ſignes of Worſhip in the time of the Celebration to be Idolatry, and hereupon declare the neceſſity of all men who will follow the example of the firſt Communicants, to keep on their Hats, all the time of this holy action; ſo likewiſe the *Independents* begin to teach their diſciples; for however at *Amſterdam* this day the named Doctrine bee not fully practiſed the men there covering their heads in the time of the Celebration; but every one uncovering, during the time of their own perſonall participation of the Elements; yet we are now taught at *London* that covering is moſt requiſite at the time of participation. That this act is a Rite ſignificant to the Communicants of their Table-honor, and fellowſhip with Chriſt, alſo that the Miniſter in all his Celebration muſt be uncovered, and that in ſign of his ſervice to the Communicants, as the Lords much honoured children, ſitting covered when they eat of their Fathers meat (*ttttt*).

They are as much for the popular Government, as the *Browniſts*.

After all the Worſhip is ended, the Congregation may not yet be diſmiſſed, but one ordinance more in the end of the day muſt be attended, the exerciſe of Diſcipline; in this the *Independents* come up fully to their maſters; the whole people muſt be preſent to heare, judge, and voyce at every act of Diſcipline (*wwwww*).

In any Congregation the acts of diſcipline, when beſt managed, are very tedious and long, but with them more then any where elſe; for their contentions are more and more tough, as we may ſee in the beſt ruled Congergations that ever they had; That of *Arnhem* and *Roterdam*; if the praiſe given by the Apologiſts to them be juſt; there the exerciſe of diſcipline hath been very tedious: the whole Congregation to their extreme wearineſſe and fretting, have been forced to lay aſide the works of their ordinary calling for many dayes of the week, to attend the *Judging* of theſe cauſes which

which on the Sabbath dayes could not be ended. (xxxxx)

In the cognition whereof every member of the Congregation must be satisfied in his own minde concerning every passage of every action; for they do not proceed by plurality of numbred voyces, but with the harmonious consent of all who have right to voyce. (yyyyy)

All Discipline must be executed in the presence and with the consent of the whole people, and all must passe by the expresse suffrage of every one.

And if it fall out that any do dissent from the most, they appoint in that case paines to be taken for the information of the dissenters, that they may consent; but if these paines prove fruitlesse, and the dissenters refuse to joyn with their brethren, they are declared obstinate, and to have lost the right of voycing for that time. (zzzzz) Yea, which is worst of all, and which puts these Congregations, on the smallest occasions, upon unavoidable and remediless divisions, they appoint all who continue in their dissent in any matter of weight, to be farther proceeded with for their contumacy. (aaaaaa)

Dissenters not only lose their right of suffrage for the time, but are subjected to censure if they continue in their dissent.

The publike meetings of the *Brownists* are so long and tedious, that we do not hear of their stomack for any private: but the *Independents* are yet for private meetings; how long they will be in love with them, we cannot say; for in *New-England* where they were most in request, their fruits have been very bitter; these meetings of a middle sort betwixt congregationall and domestick, were the occasion very near to ruine both that Church and State: for in these it was, where under the pretence of religious conference, and repetition of Sermons, false doctrine, and wicked calumnies against the most Orthodox of the Ministers and Magistrates, were spread for the renting and (had not God prevented it) the destroying of the State both Civil and Ecclesiastick, (bbbbbb).

They are much for private meetings for it is in them that they usually frame the members of other mens congregations into their new mould, but the *Brownists* and they of *New-England* having felt the bitter fruits of such meetings, have relinquished, if not discharged them.

For the present, where they are in gathering of their congregations, these meetings in private houses (of all who will) are a very pregnant means to steale away men and women from their own Pastors: but if once their gathering of churches were at an end, and their greatest care were for the keeping and edifying of what they had gotten, it is like that then they would be as cautious as now all other Churches are, even the *Brownists*, and these of *New-England*, of such meetings, which, except well moderated and limited, under fair pretences, are exceeding fit to make new divisions

vilions, and ever to frame new Societies of some, as it were, more select and eminent Christians out of the common congregation.

Concerning the Magistrate, the Tenets of the *Independents* would be well considered, because of their open proclamation of their loyalty, beyond and above all which the principles of any Reformed church will permit them *(cccccc.)*

They flatter the Magistrate and slander the Reformed Churches without cause

Had they magnified never so much their own vertues, without the expresse disparagement of others; had they put in the ballance with themselves an equall, or a double number of the greatest men in any of the Reformed churches, who yet would be very ponderous when they lie in the scales against five particular men the authors of that comparison; had they preferred themselves before all the reformed churches in a casuall & contingent action, not in a main duty, which their very principles are alledged to diminish; had they whispered all this in the ears of their friends, and not made a proclamation of it to both the Houses of Parliament, and that in print to be trumpeted out in the ears of all the world; it might have been past over with the lesse either observation or offence: But since in so publike a manner they have required the Magistrate to believe their great deferences to him, & the smaller respect he can expect from any out of their way: it seemeth very necessary to produce, not these particular respects which the Reformed churches professe, according to their principles to give unto the Magistrate, and continually have given according to their professions (for these are well known to the world long before any of our new Censors were in being) but what these singular duties may be, which the *Independents* above all other men by their principles are forced to perform to Magistrates. While they may be at leisure to publish them to the world, I will here present unto them the materials of some few short observations for that purpose.

Some of them are for the abolition of all Magistracy.

First, that divers of their party, and those of very eminent note, though miscarrying in other things, yet keeping fast to the way of *Independency*, have denied to the Magistrate all power over any of the Godly *(dddddd)*.

And others of them with the grossest *Anabaptists* have denied the lawfulnesse of any Magistrate at all *(eeeeee)*.

Secondly,

Secondly, doe not their principles hold out of the Church, and deprive of all christian consolation which flows from any Church priviledge, the farre greater part, if not absolutely all Kings and Princes that are this day in the Christian world, and have been since the dayes of the Gospel, or ever are likely to be upon earth to the worlds end? how exceeding few of all that are, or have been Members of Parliament of either House, of all that have been or are Magistrates in *England*, if their principles might be put in practice, would be admitted to the Lords Table, or yet their children be baptised, or themselves be reputed Christians and Members of any lawfull Church?

All of them are for casting out, and keeping out of the Christian church all Princes, all Members of Parliament, all Magistrates of the counties, and Burroughs that now are, and that ever have been, and are ever like to be hereafter, except a very few.

Thirdly, of these, exceeding few Kings, Princes, Peeres, Commoners and Magistrates of the Land, which they could take into their Congregations; how many could have assurance to live any long time in a Christion condition as Members of a Church according to their principles? Since they tell us that they are to Excommunicate without any delay, the greatest Kings for any fault either in beliefe or life, which doth subject the poorest servants to censure; how many and frequent these faults may be, it is hard to judge; but the worst is, when the greatest Kings and the chiefe Members of Parliament without any respect to their dignity, are cast out of the Church for themselves and their Children, by the peevishnesse, or error, or malice of a few in a small Congregation, they have no meanes under heaven to redresse themselves of their injury; they and theirs must live as pagans out of the Church, till they who did cast them out be perswaded and become willing to take them in; should all the Divines, all the Assemblies, all the Churches of their Dominions, see clearly as the light their notorious wrong; yet there were no possibility to help it by any mortall hand till the injurious Congregation it selfe, of its owne accord, should be pleased to repaire it.

These few Magistrates whom they would admit, have no security, but by the errour or malice of a few, to bee quickly cast out of the church without any possibility of remedy.

Fourthly, they permit none to be Magistrates, where they have power, nor so much as to bee a member of their smallest Civill Courts, except they be fully for their way, and be admitted members of their Church, as it hath ever been their practice in *New-England* to this day; but the Mgaistrates they admit of, who are of their minde, they debase their power so low as to suspend it all on the will and pleasure of the promiscuous multitude, not

When they have put all out of the places of Magistracy, yea out of all civil courts, who are not of their minde, the greatest Magi-

strates they admit of, be they Kings or Parliaments, they subj & them all to the free wil of the promiscuous multitude.

only to limit the Soveraignty of princes within the bounds of their just Laws, and to confine them unto the Counsell of their Parliaments, but to bring both them and Parliaments and all Magistrates to their first originall and Makers, to the free will of these whom they use to stile the prophane multitude (*ffffff*)

When Magistrates wil not follow their new errours, they have bin very ready to make insurrections to the great hazard of the whole State.

Eifthly, have any of the Reformed Churches now for an hundred yeares and above, given to Magistrates such occasion to feare an unjust insurrection, as they in the few yeares of their being have already furnished?

To passe by all their threatnings in this time of confusion (*gggggg*) (while their strength is yet inconsiderable) and their mighty endeavours to get Armes into their hand to enable themselves with the evident hazard of the whole Isle, to doe what they please by force (*hhhhhh*).

Let men only look over to the fruits of their principles in *New-England*, not many yeares agoe there, upon a very small, and so farre as I know very groundlesse suspition, to have somewhat of their Government altered by the King contrary to their Patent, they did quickly purchase and distribute Armes among all their people, and exact of every one an Oath for the defence of their Patent against all impugners whosoever? Mr *Williams* opposition to this Oath, as he alledgeth, was the chiefe cause of his banishment (*iiiiii*).

What principles could these be, that moved the same people a little after to doe and say such things for which their Magistrates did disarme so many of their Church-members, not only elsewhere, but even at *Boston*, upon fear of an apparent insurrection for the killing of the principall Magistrates, and overturning the whole state of that Countrey (*kkkkkk* 1.)

Many of them deny to the Magistrate any power at all in the matters of Religion.

Few Magistrates will hereafter confide in these principles which saved not the Governour and generall Court of *New England* from extreme danger by the memberrs of Mr *Cottons* Congregation at *New Boston*.

Sixthly, doe the *Independents* principles give to the Magistrate any Ecclesiastick power at all? will they submit to his civill power in any Ecclesiastick affaires? will they be hindered by the Magistrates sentence, unlesse it be executed with violence to erect congregations

gregations within his Dominions at their owne pleasure? Will their principles permit them upon the command of King and Parliament, to refuse to take into their Congregations the members of other Parish Churches without a dismission, or to take and admit upon the Magistrates command within their number, any whom they account unfit for membership, or to recall for the Magistrates pleasure any of their Church censures? have they not very lately declared to the Parliament, that they esteeme all matters of Religion free and exempt from their sword and power? That all matters both of worship and doctrine, that all things of the mind, as they speake, or matters of opinion, and all matters of outward forme wherein uniformity is required according to our Covenant, are so far to be ruled by every mans owne conscience, his owne light and reason, that the Parliament is not in any such matter to interpose their power? whether this be the true sense of their openly avowed and repeated letters to the Parliament it selfe, let every intelligent man consider who reades the words (*kkkkkk 2.*)

Their principles do spoile Princes and Parliaments of their whole Legislative power; they abolish al humane Lawes that are made, and hinder any more to be made.

Seventhly, are any of the Reformed Churches, or any Churches or persons of the whole world, so injurious to Magistrates as their principles force them to be, who spoile Christian Kings and Parliaments of their whole Legislative power? they will have us to beleeve, as good Divinity, that it is not only unlawful for Church-assemblies to make Ecclesiastick Canons, but that it is alike unlawfull for any Prince or State to make a civill Law, (*llllll*).

That the placing of a Legislative power in Kings or Parliaments, is to usurp the property & prerogative of God (*mmmmmmm* 1).

These principles cannot be very favourable to the State, which at one stroke annihilate all the Acts of Parliament that now are in force, either in this or any other Kingdome, and make it impossible (if they were beleeved) to have any more in any place of the earth, to the worlds end. Look back upon what I have cited from the chiefe of the *Brownists* writings. I grant the *New English* polishers of *Brownisme* doe not expresse their Tenets in termes so hugely grosse; yet see how neare they come to them in substance, when they tell us that no Magistrate may make any Lawes about the Bodies, Lands, Goods, Liberties of the Subject, which are not according to the Lawes and Rules of Scripture, Scripture being

given to men for a perfect rule, as well in matters of Civill Justice, as of devotion and holinesse; (mmmmmmm 2) and if so, then they must make it as unlawfull and contrary to the Scriptures perfection, for any man to make Lawes in matters of Righteousnesse and of the State, as in matters of Holinesse and of the Church.

The Civill Lawes which M. *Cotton* permits men to make, bind no man any further then his own mind is led by the reason of the Law to obedience.

That beside things in themselves good or evill, which Scripture determines by its Lawes expresly, things of an indifferent nature, whereupon the most of Civill Lawes are made, must be regulated according to the Scripture rules of Piety, Charity, and Conscience, so farre that the expediency and reason of the Law must ever carry and convince the Conscience of the Subject: that no man is obliged to the obedience of a civill Law in a thing never so indifferent by the authority of the Law-giver, but every man whose conscience is not convinced of the piety and charity of that Law, is free from all obedience and subjection thereto: Thus far Mr. *Cotton* (mmmmmmm 3.)

They put the yoke of the Judiciall Law of *Moses* on the necke of the Magistrate.

Eightly, what men besides them have made so bold with Kings and Parliaments, as not only to break in pieces their old Lawes, and to divest them of all power to make new ones; but also under the Pretext of a divine right, to put upon their necks that unsupportable yoke of the Judiciall Law of the *Jewes*, for peace and for warre, without any power to dispence either in addition or substraction (nnnnnnn 1?) I grant this principle of *Barrow* is limited by Mr. *Cotton* to such Judicials as doe containe in them a morall equity (nnnnnn 2); but this morall equity is extended by him to so many particulars, as *Williams* confesses the whole Judiciall Law to be brought backe againe thereby, no lesse then by the plaine, simple, and unlimited Tenet of the rigidest *Brownists* (nnnnnn 3).

They give to their Ministers a power to sit in civill Courts, and to voyce in the Election of the Magistrates, and to draw from Scripture Civill Lawes for the government of the State.

Ninthly, doth any Reformed Church appoint their Ministers to be members of the highest civill Courts, with power of voycing in the election of the Supreme Magistrate? (oooooo)

Do any Divines but theirs, since the Bishops were abolished, joyne themselves as companions with the Magistrates, to draw out of Scripture a body of civill Lawes for the Government of the State? (pppppp.)

Tenthly,

Tenthly, did ever any Divines but theirs, so evidently mock the Magistrate, by instructing him according to their own interest, as it were from heaven, to contradictory practises, in *New-England* where the Magistrate is in their way, to perswade him the necessity under paine of sinne and judgement, to kill all Idolaters, and false Prophets, to destroy whole Cities, men, women, and children, who are seduced by a false Prophet (*qqqqqq*)?

They offer to perswade the Magistrate contradictory principles, according to their own interest.

Making a path-way by this meanes to the slaughter, not only of all Papists and Heretical Sects, but also of many good Protestants, who to the *Brownists* are Idolaters for the reading of Prayer, and obstinate enemies of the Kingdome of Christ for their mislike of Independency, according to the open profession of the prime *Independents* (*rrrrrr.*)

In *New England* they perswade the Magistrate to kill all Idolaters and Heretickes, even whole Cities, men, women, and children.

Their Doctrine in *Old England*, where the Magistrate is out of their way, is diametrally opposite to this: for here they make it a Theomachy (*ffffff*) a fighting with God, to deny a free liberty to Papists, to the worst Heresies and Schismes, to Judaisme, Turcisme, Paganisme, or if any errour can be Imagined to be more pernicious. I beleeve that few prudent Magistrates when they have well ruminated these and the like principles of the *Independents*, will esteeme them much more conducible for their ends, then the principles of the Reformed Churches.

But here they deny the Magistrate all power to lay the least restraint upon the grossest Idolaters, Apostates, Blasphemers, Seducers, or the greatest enemies of Religion.

In the point of Schooles and Learning, how farre they will follow the *Brownists*, I cannot say: divers of them have as good a share in Learning as their neighbours: yet whatever they have of that kind, they got it all before they entred into their New-way, and whatever Learning all of them do possesse, it is no more then what was among the *Brownists*, when they did most cry downe Learning. The most of their Erudition this day dwels in *New-England*. That any reall course hath ever there been taken for its entertainment and propagation, I have not heard much; though the Magistrate and the whole Land have been and are at their Devotion; and till of late they had no apparant hope of supplying their way from the Schooles of other parts of the World.

No great appearance of their respect to secular learning and Schooles.

Were we not weary, we might goe on yet further in the parallell, especially in the doctrinall Tenets of the *Independents*, wherein already they have gone farre beyond the *Brownists*: you had a touch

Independency much more dangerous then *Brownisme*.

touch of the Arminianisme of some in the reall Sanctification of all baptised Infants; of the Enthusiasmes of others in their contemplations of God without Scripture; of the Libertinisme of a third, blaspheming God as the Author of the sinfulnesse of sinne: of the Arminian reprobation, the Antinomian, Montanistick and Familistick Tenets of a fourth; for which I doubt if to this day they have given any satisfaction. The whole City hath been filled these many yeares with the noise of the Socinianisme of the fifth; many of them are passionate for a full liberty of all Religions in every State. The Apologists declare, that they will have none cast out of the Church for any errours which are not fundamentall; and how far they will extend this principle, who can know? only it would seeme that all the named errors which do lodge or have lodged, as is alledged, in their prime Leaders, without any censure to this day, must be taken within the compasse of errours tolerable, not only in the State, but in the purest Churches.

And if Arminian, Socinian, Anabaptistick, Antinomian, Familistick, Enthusiastick errours be declared not fundamentall, and tolerable in a Church, what shall we say of Prelaticall, Cassandrian, and the most of the Popish Tenets that are no wayes so grosse? *Spalato* and others have been at great paines to prove that none of all the Popish errours are fundamentall. The Remonstrant Apologists labour to free the greatest Heresies that ever were in the Church, such as Arrianisme of old, and Vorstianisme of late, from that infamy. Certainly, though our Brethren had kept in their principle of change, and not declared their full resolution to goe on farther then themselves or others have yet thought; what already they have positively delivered, giveth to the world just reason of doubt whither they may goe, and where at last they will stop their very swift and volant progresse.

The Testimonies.

(a) ANtap. p. 243. *It was agreed upon, that they out of hand should bring in a Narrative of their opinions wherein they differed from us, and then should joyne with us in preaching against the* Brownists *and* Anabaptists; *they never brought in their Narrative*

rative untill this day, and though at full meetings of the Ministers, they have been spoken unto, and some Ministers have been sent from the Company to some of them, and the Narrative was promised at such a time, and then at such a time, yet it was never performed; and whereas the agreement in writing for our side was left in Mr. Calamies *hand, Mr.* Nye *comes after some time to Mr.* Calamy, *and pretends some reasons to borrow it for a while; but after he had it, he carries it away into* Yorkshire, *that so upon occasion of complaints of the breach of the agreement, when we would have consulted with that paper, it was gone, and Mr.* Nye *keeps it to this day, and having been moved to restore it, His answer is, it is at* Hull *amongst other papers.*

(b) Apollonius *Letter to the* 5 Apologists, *the* 3 *of* May 1644. Haſce quæſtiones ad vos reverendi viri tranſmitto de iiſdem ſententias veſtras quærens, & ob mutuam noſtram fidem & charitatem ſerio vos oro ut non detrectetis ſincere dilucide & accurate abſque Rhetorici apparatus diverticulis declarare, quid vos & fratres illi quibuſcum ſocietatem veſtram Eccleſiaſticam colitis de hiſce ſentiant, quoniam meæ fidei ab Eccleſiis Chriſti id commiſſum eſt. Spero vos ex timore Dei, & charitate erga nos fratres veſtros, abſque ullo pretextu ſententias veſtras hac de re declaraturos, idque quam cito fieri poteſt, urgent enim Eccleſiæ noſtræ ut opus hoc maturem. *This zealous adjuration hath not to this day drawn from any of them any declaration.*

(c) Apol. Nar. p. 30. *A relation of our judgement in the points of difference about Church-Government, wee reserve unto the more proper season.*

(d) Keyes Preface p.6. *Only we crave leave of the reverend Author to declare that we assent not to all expressions scattered up and down, or to all and every assertion interwoven in it; yea nor to all the grounds or allegations of Scriptures, nor should wee in all things perhaps have used the same terms, to expresse the same materials by.*

(e) Apol. Nar. p. 10. *A second principle we carried along with us in all: our resolution was not to make our present judgement and practice a binding law unto our selves for the future; and therefore in a jealousie of our selves, wee kept this reserve, to alter and retract, though not lightly, whatever should be discovered to be taken up out*

of

of a misunderstanding of the rule, which principle we wish were next to that most supreame, enacted as the most sacred Law of all others.

(f) Cottons Keys *published by* Goodwin *and* Nye, p. 49. *In what sense the Church of a particular Congregation is the first subject of the power of the* Keyes, *in the same sense it is* Independent *and none other, we taking the first subject and the* Independent *subject to be all one. Answer to the 32 questions* p. 46. *For the matter of* Independeney, *we confesse the Church is not so* Independent, *but it ought to depend upon Christ; But for Dependency upon men or other Churches, or other Subordination unto them in regard of Church-Government and power, we know not of any such appointed by Christ and his Word. The Churches were not Dependent and Subordinate to others, but all of them absolutely free and* Independent. Burtons *Vindication*, p. 42. *We are not so ashamed of the Title of* Independency, *as utterly to disclaime it, and that for two reasons; first, for distinction sake, between us and that which you call* Presbyteriall *Government; The second is, because this word* Independent *is to signifie that we hold al particular Churches of Christ to be of equall authority, and none to have Jurisdiction over another, but each Church is under Christs Government as the sole head, King, Lord, Law-giver thereof.*

(g) Apol. Nar. p. 22. *We doe professedly judge the* Calvinian *Reformed Churches of the first Reformation from out of Popery to stand in need of a further Reformation themselves.*

(h) Ibid. p. 19. *We thinke we give more to the Magistrate then the principles of the* Presbyteriall *Government will suffer them to yeeld.*

(i) Ibid. p. 24. *We do hereby publikely professe we beleeve the truth to lie and consist in a middle way, betwixt that which is falsly charged on us,* Brownisme, *and that which is the contention of these times, the Authoritative* Presbyteriall *Government. Preface to the* Keyes, p. 5. *We are yet neither afraid, nor ashamed to make profession that the substance of this briefe extract is that very middle way betwixt that which is called* Brownisme, *and the* Presbyteriall *Government.*

(k) Vide supra *Chap.* 2. (b) *and* (R 2.)

(l) Prynnes Discovery, p. 29. John Lilbourn *in his Answer*

to 9 Arguments, p. 4. *writes the Church of* England *is a true whorish mother, and you are one of her base begotten and bastardly children. I say, the* Church *of* England *neither is, nor never was truly married to Christ in that espousall band which his true Churces are and ought to be, but is one of Anti-christs Nationall whorish Churches: your Church false and Anti-christian; the Ministers of the Church of* England, *are not true Ministers of Christ, but false Ministers of Anti-christ*, ibid. p. 31. *This language and opinion of his concerning our English Church and Ministry, is seconded by most* Independents *in their late Pamphlets.*

(m) *Nr.* Robinson *hath written a whole Treatise upon this subiect.*

(n) *Answer to the 32 questions*, p. 27. *If wee were in* England, *we should willingly ioyne in some parts of Gods true worship, and namely, in hearing the Word where it is truly preached; yea, though we doe not know them to be true Churches. For some worship, as prayer, and preaching, and hearing the word, is not peculiar to Church-Assemblies, but may bee performed in other meetings.* Cottons *letter examined*, p. 43. *The second thing which Mr.* Cotton *himselfe hath professed concerning English Preachers, is, that although the Word, yet not the Seales may be received from them, because (saith he) there is no Communion in hearing, and the Word is to be preached to all; but the Seales, &c.*

(o) Vide supra. *Chap.* 3. (G.)

(p) Cottons *letter examined*, p. 37. Cotton *here confesseth these two things; first, if any reproach the Church of* Salem *for Separation, it is a sin meet to be censured; secondly, the Churches themselves may be separated from, who tolerate their members in such causlesse reproachings, which I leave to himselfe to reconcile with his former profession against Separation.*

(q) Vide supra. *Chap.* 4. (R).

(r) Vide supra. *Chap.* 5. (B 1).

(s) Burtons *Vindication*, p. 45. *We esteeme the Government of Christs Church so holy, as we cannot think them fit to be admitted be they never so good that think so slightly of the way, and of them that walk in it, that they refuse to agree to walke in this way with the people of God.* Ibid. p. 62. *Doe you not know that no Infants have*

any title to Baptisme, but by vertue of their Parents Faith outwardly professed? and what outward profession of Faith in the Parents that refuse Christ for their only King? If therefore the Parents refuse thus to be in visible Covenant, can the children be said to be in visible Covenant, and so to have a right to Baptisme? If then the Parents by refusing Christ as their King, doe hereby cut themselves off from the covenant, they doe therewith cut off their children to.

(t) Ibid. p. 63. *We dare not baptise the children of these Parents that refuse to professe the Faith of Christ as their onely King as well as their only Priest and Prophet; for Christ divided, becomes no Christ to the divider; this is to dissolve Christ, that is, to receive him onely in part and not in whole, which is the Spirit of Antichrist*, Ibid. p. 55. *Such a conversion as you speake of, comes not home to whole Christ, and such with their converters doe deny Christs Kingly Government; what Kind of converters call you these? at best they are converted but in part, and that maine thing is wanting, to wit, Christs Kingly Office which they come not up to by the preaching thereof.*

(w) *Paper of Accommodation after the ninth proposition: We having weighed our Brethrens principles, do find no probability of an Accommodation for them ordinarily to enjoy congregations, unlesse it shall happen in a Parish that the Minister cannot administer the Sacraments to all the Parish, whom possibly the neighbour Ministers or Classis may judge fit to be admitted, such persons shall have power to produce to themselves the Sacraments by the help of a neighbour Minister*, Ibid. *Whereunto our Brethren adde as followeth, or otherwise, if in a Parish it happen that there be a considerable number of such as cannot partake in the Ordinances with the Minister and people, there they shall have liberty to dispose of themselves as a distinct Church, and to choose a Minister or Ministers, at their own charge to be maintained to be their Pastor.*

(x) Thomas Goodwin to J. G. p. 1. *Inderdum that are to admit doe it upon a conviction and perswasion of the parties true grace some way made forth visible to us.* Welds answer to chapter 3. *He tells us that they must be reall Saints and sincere Believers, and that the Church in admitting of them, doth make exact tryall by examination of their knowledge, and the work of grace, first in private, then*

then in publike, and that they bee such as can cleave together in opinion and affection, and that they be such as know what belongs to Church-covenant, approve it and seek it; is there any thing in all this that you can blame?

(y) Ibid. *In the Churches where we have lived many years, we have seen such a tender respect had to the weaker sex, that wee commit their tryall to the Elders, and some few others in private, who upon their Testimony are admitted into the Church without any more adoe.*

(z) Rathbones Narration, p. 11. *Beside true and reall Saintship they require that the members to be admitted, be such as can cleave together both in opinion and in affection, and that there be suteablenesse and sweetnesse of spirit in them, apt to close one with another.*

(aa) Vide supra, (Z) *also* Cottons *Way*, p. 7

(bb) Vide supra, *fifth chap.* (E 1.)

(cc) Apol. Nar. p. 9. *Excommunication should be put in execution for no other kind of sinnes then may be evidently presumed to be perpetrated against the parties known light, as whether it be a sinne in manners and conversation, such as is committed against the light of nature, or the common received practises of Christianity professed in all the Churches of Christ; or if in opinion, then such as are likewise contrary to the received principles of Christianity, and the power of godlinesse professed by the party himselfe, and universally acknowledged in all the rest of the churches, and no other sinnes to be the subiect of that dreadfull sentence.*

(dd) Bastwicks *Postcript*, p. 58. *also his* Just defence, p. 39.

(ee) An Apologie *of the churches in* New-England, for a Church Covenant.

(ff) T. G. to J. G. p. *First, it is no more with us then this, an assent and resolution professed by them that are to be admitted by us, with promise to walke in all these wayes pertaining to this Fellowship, so far as they shall be revealed to them in the Gospell; thus briefly, indefinitely and implicitly, in such like words and no more or otherwise, doe we apply our answers to mens consciences.* Church-covenant, p. 36. *We deny not, but the covenant in many of the* English *congregations is more implicite, and not so plaine as were to be desired; yet there wants not that reall and substantiall comming toge-*

ther or agreeing in Covenant, and that substantiall profession of faith, which thanks be to God, hath preserved the Essence of Visible Churches in England unto this day.

(gg) Plaine-Dealing, p. 2. *A Church is gathered after this manner; a competent number of Christians come together in some fit place in a publike manner, and there confesse their sins, and professe their faith, and enter into Church-covenant; after this, they doe at this same time or some other all being together, elect their owne Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have fit men enough to supply these places; else as many of them as they can bee provided of; then they set another day for the ordination of their said Officers.*

(hh) *Answer to the 32 Questions*, p. 36. *If Church-communion and the excercise of such Ordinances, as Christ hath appointed for his Church, was lawfull and needfull; when Magistrates were enemies to the Gospell, and be not so when Magistrates professe the Gospell, we doe not see but Christians may sometime be losers by having Christian Magistrates, and in worse condition then if they had none but professed Enemies*, ibid. p. 41. *It is our practise in Ordination of Ministers, as also in removing of them, to have the assistance of Ministers of other Churches; but for authority and power, we know none that Ministers have, properly so called, in any Congregation save that one over which the holy Ghost hath made them Over-seers, and therefore we think it not lawfull when a Church is to Ordaine Officers, to call in by way of authority or power the ministers of other Churches.*

(ii) Cottons Way, p. 1. *The Church to which Christ hath committed the censures, is a combination of faithfull Godly men meeting by common consent into one congregation*, Ibid. 7. *Then such whose hearts God teacheth, often meet together about the things of God, and performe some duties of Prayer and spirituall conference together, till a sufficient company of them be well satisfied in the spirituall good estate one of another, and so have approved themselves to one anothers consciences in the sight of God, as living stones fit to be laid in the Lords spirituall Temple*, Ibid. p. 10. *The Church being thus gathered as hath been described, Our next care is that it may be supplyed with all Officers which* CHRIST *hath ordained.*

(kk) *An-*

(k k) *Answer to the 32 Question*, p. 43. *We doe not find that God doth anywhere say they must be above forty or else they cannot be a Church: nay, rather that Speech of Christs, of two or three gathered together in his name, doth plainly imply, that if there be no greater number then two or three, whom they being not satisfied in the answer of an offender, may appeale unto, and in so doing tell the Church, such a small number may be a Church, and may have the blessing of his presence to be among them.*

(l l) Ibid. p. 8. 9. *When a visible Church is to be erected, it is necessary that in respect of quantity it be no more in number in the dayes of the New Testament, but so many as may meet in one Congregation.*

(m m) Ibid. p. 15. *The Church is before the Ministers, seeing the power of chusing Ministers is given to the Church by Christ.*

(n n) Ibid. p. 68. *The Church that hath no Officers, may elect Officers unto themselves; therefore it may also ordaine them: if it hath power from Christ for the one, and that the greater, it hath also for the other which is the lesser: now, Ordination is lesse then Election.*

(o o) Ibid. p. 42. *Vnto the 13 question, whether you thinke it convenient, that a company of private and illiterate persons should ordinarily examine, elect, ordaine, and depose their Ministers: a part of the answer to this question is, if there were none among them who had humane learning, we doe not see how this could hinder them of their liberty to chuse Ministers, purchased to them by Christs precious blood; for they that are fit matter to be combined into a Church-body, have learned the Doctrine of the holy Scriptures in the fundamentall points thereof; they have learned to know the Lord in their owne hearts; therefore they may not bee reproached as illiterate or unworthy to chuse their owne Ministers; may they have the best learning, without which all other learning is but meanes and folly.*

(p p) Plaine-Dealing, p. 3. *They set a day for the Ordination of their Officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands upon them: where there are Ministers or Elders before, they impose their hands upon the new Officers; but where there is none, there some of their chiefest members or three of good report amongst*

amongst them, though not of the Ministry, doe by appointment of the same Church lay hands upon them. Cottons Way. p. 40. 41. Towards the end of the day, one of the Elders of the Church, if they have any, if not, one of the Graver Brethren of the Church, appointed by themselves to order the Work of the day, standing up and enquiring in the church, &c. He admonisheth him who is chosen, what duties the Lord requireth of him in that place towards the Church; then with the Presbytery of that Church, if they have any, or if not, with two or three others of the Gravest Christians among the Brethren of that Church, being deputed by the body, he doth in the name of the Lord Iesus ordaine him to that Office, with imposition of hands, calling upon the Lord; and so turning the speech to the person on whom their hands are imposed, he as the mouth of the Presbytery, expresses their Ordination of him, and parts a Solemne charge upon him to looke well to himselfe and the flock. After this the Elders of other Churches present, observing the presence of God in the orderly proceeding of the Church to the Officers Election and Ordination, one of them in the name of all the rest, doth give unto him the right hand of Fellowship in the sight of all the Assembly.

(qq) Answer to the 32. Questions, p. 48. If the Church hath power by election to chuse a Minister, and so power of instituting him, then of destituing also; Instituere & destituere ejusdem est potestatis.

(rr) Ibid. p. 44. We conceive that every Church properly so called, though they bee not above ten persons, or the least number that you mention, have right and power from Christ to transact all their owne Ecclesiasticall businesse, if so be they be able, and carry matters iustly: for the power of the Keyes Matth. 16. 19. is committed by Christ unto the Church.

(ss) Cottons Catechism. p. 10. It is committed to the Presbytery to prepare matters for the Churches hearing.

(tt) Answer to the 32. quest. p. 60. In this sense matters with us are carried according to the Vote of the maior part, that is, with the iojne consent of the whole Church, but yet because it is the mind of Christ.

(ww) The Propositions to which almost all our Elders did agree when they were assembled together: the first, the Presbytery

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is the first subiect of all Presbyteriall power; radicaliter, id est cattatim per modum collationis, non habitualiter, non actualiter, non formaliter.

(xx) Anatom. p. 26. *I heare of no ruling-Elders that ever Mr.* Simpson *had in his Church.* Anatomist anatomised, p. 12. *It is true* de facto *We had none, but we resolved to have them. Notwithstanding this answer of Mr.* Simpsons, *that Church of* Rotterdam *to this day hath never had a Presbytery, after more then seven yeares delay.*

(yy) Antap. p. 52. *Pastors are necessary Officers in your Churches, and yet according to your practises your Churches are many yeares without them.*

(zz) Keyes, p. 10. *Authority is a morall power, and a superiour Order or State, binding or releasing as inferiour in point of subiection. Christ hath given no Iurisdiction but to whom he hath given office. The key of power in a large sense, or liberty, is in the Church: but the key of authority or rule, in a more strict sense, is in the Elders of the Church.*

(aaa) *Excommunication is one of the highest acts of Rule; and therefore cannot bee performed but by some Rulers: now where all the Elders are culpable, there be no Rulers left in that Church to censure them: so therefore the Presbytery cannot excommunicate the whole Church, though apostate, for they must tell the Church, and ioyne with the Church in that censure; so neither can the Church excommunicate the whole Presbytery, because they have not received from Christ an Office of Rule without their Officers,* Ib. preface p. 4. *He gives unto the Elders or Presbytery a binding power of Rule and Authority peculiar unto them; and to the Brethren distinct and apart an interest of power and priviledge to concurre with them, and that such affaires should not be transacted but with the ioynt agreement of both, though out of a different Right: so that as a Church of Brethren only could not proceed to any publike censures, without they have Elders over them; so neither in the Church have the Elders power to censure, without the concurrence of the people: so as each alone have not power of excommunicating the whole of either, though together they have power over any particular person or persons in each.*

(bbb) Ibid. *Also* Keyes, p. 23. *Else the Brethren have a power*

power of order, and the priviledge to expostulate with their brethren in case of private scandals: so in case of publike scandall, the whole Church of brethren have power and priviledge to joyne with the Elders in inquiring, hearing, judging of publike scandals, so as to bind notorious offenders and impenitents under censure, and to forgive the repentant.

(ccc) The propositions, 3 prop. The fraternity having authoritative concurrence with the Presbytery in Judiciall acts.

(ddd) Keyes. p. 16. Though the Church want authority to Excommunicate their Presbytery, yet they want not liberty to withdraw from them.

(eee) Keyes preface, p. 5. When we first read this of this learned Author, knowing what hath been the more generall current both of the practice and judgement of our brethren for the Congregationall way; we confesse we were filled with wonderment at that Divine hand that had thus led the judgements without the least mutuall interchange or intimation of thoughts or motions in these particulars of our brethren there and our selves here.

(fff) Ibid. Onely wee crave leave of the Reverend Author to declare that wee assent not to all expressions; &c. Vide supra.

(ggg) Tabula. Potestas charitativa merè est primo fratrum & Presbyterorum charitativè non politicè ambulantium, secundo sororum.

(hhh) Vide supra, *Chap.* 4. (F).

(iii) Vide supra, *Chap.* 3. (M).

(kkk) Bastwicks Independency, p. 99. The fifth Quere whether the women and people as well as the Ministers have the Keyes? and whether the women have all their Voyce in the Church, both for election and reprobation of Members and Officers as well as men? and whether the consent of all the women, and the greatest part of them be requisite for the making of any one a member, or officer, so that if they gain-say it, being the greater number, or allow of it, the most voyces carry the businesse? the practice of this the Brethren in some of their Congregations hold for Orthodox. Mr. Prynnes Fresh Discovery, in his Dedicatory Epistle to the Parliament, p. 5. And to interest the Female Sex and draw them to their party, they allow them not only decisive votes but

but liberty of preaching, prophesying, speaking in their Congregations.

(lll) Keyes p. 6. *Wee be farre from allowing that sacrilegious usurpation of the Ministers Office, which we heare of to our griefe to be practised in some places, that private Christians ordinarily take upon them to preach the Gospel publikely, and to minister the Sacraments.* Katharine Chidleys Justification *of the* Independent *Churches*, p. 28. *Yet that the Church must want the Word preached, or the Sacraments administred, till they have Pastors and Teachers in Office, is yet to bee proved; but that which hath been alledged, is sufficient to prove that the family must not be unprovided for, either for the absence or the negligence of a Steward.*

(mmm) Keyes, p. 53. *A particular Congregation being the first subject of the Church power, is unavoidably* Independent *upon any other Church or body for the exercise thereof; for the first subject of any accident or adjunct, ie* Independent *upon any other, either for the enjoying or for the employing, the having or using of the same.*

(nnn) Vide supra (mmm).

(ooo) Answer *to the* 32 *Questions*, p. 36. *For Dependency upon men or other Churches, or other Subordination unto them in regard of Church-Government or power, we know not of any such appointed by Christ in his Word.*

(ppp) Welds *Answer to* Rathband, 14. *chap. Our Churches are tender to perswade men to act without light, much more to command or to compell; both which very words though the thing required were lawfull, are odious in the Churches of Christ, most fitly becomming the Synagogues of Antichrist.*

(qqq) Vide Cottons Keyes, p. 8. & infra (zzz).

(rrr) Cottons Catechisme, p. 13. *All the Churches thereabout may meet together, and by the Word of God may confute and condemn such errours in doctrine or practice as are offensive, to prevent the spreading either of the gangrene of heresie, or of the leprosie of sinne; and if the Church offending, shall not yet hearken unto their brethren, though the rest of the Churches have not power to deliver them to Satan; yet they have power to withdraw from them the right hand of Fellowship.* Vide infra (sss).

(sss) Keyes, p. 97. *In the Election and Ordination of Officers*

and censure of offenders, let it suffice the Churches consociate to assist one another with their counsel, but let them not put forth the power of their Community to take such Church Censures out of their hands; let Synods have their just authority in all Churches how pure so ever, in determining such diataxeis as are requisite for the edification of all Churches. Keyes Preface, p. 4. *Hee acknowledgeth that Synods or Classes are an Ordinance of Christ, unto whom Christ hath committed a due and just measure of power, furnishing them not onely with ability to give counsell, but also a Ministeriall power and Authority, to determine, declare and enjoyne such things as may tend to the reducing of Congregations to right order and peace; but not arming them with power of Excommunicating either Congregations or their members; they are to leave the former act of this censure to that Authority which can only execute it, placed by Christ in these Churches themselves; which if they deny to doe or persist in their miscarriage, then the Synod may determine to withdraw communion from them.*

(ttt) Ibid.

(www) Keyes, p. 50. 51. *The Magistrates addresse themselves to the establishment of Religion, and Reformation of corruptions by civill punishments upon the wilfull opposers;* Iosiah *put to death Idolatrous Priests; nor was that a peculiar duty of the Kings of* Iuda; *for of the times of the New-Testament it is Prophesied, that in some cases capitall punishment shall proceed against false prophets.*

(xxx) Keyes Preface, p. 4. *Hee asserteth an association of Churches, sending their Elders and Messengers into a Synod; so hee purposely chuseth to stile these Assemblies of Elders, which the Reformed Churches doe call Classes or Prethyteries.*

(yyy) Cottons Catechisme, p. 3. *The office or work of the ruling Elders, is to moderate the carriage of all matters of the Church Assembled, as to propound matters to the Church, and to order the season of speech and silence in the Church.*

(zzz) Keyes p. 48. *The pattern of Synods is set before us,* Acts 15. *There the Apostles assembled together with the Elders, and a multitude of brethren together with them, the whole Synod being satisfied, determine of a Iudiciall sentence, and of a way to publish it by Letters and Messengers; so the matter is at last judged*

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in a Congregation of Churches, in a Church of Churches; for what is a Synod else but a Church of Churches? Ibid. p. 57. *All the liberties of Churches were purchased to them by the precious blood of the Lord Iesus, and therefore neither may the Churches give them away, nor many Churches take them out of the hands of one.*

(aaaa) Keyes Preface, p. 6. *In all humility wee yet see not that assembly of Apostles, Elders and brethren, Acts 15. to have been a formall Synod.*

(bbbb 1) Ibid 4. *He acknowledgeth a Synod to be an Ordinance of God, in relation to the rectifying of male administrations, and healing dissentions in particular Congregations and the like cases; in such cases they declare and judge the nature of the offence.*

(bbbb 2) Antap. p. 146. *I was desired by Mr Ward to be present at that meeting; but when the time came, neither I, nor any English Ministers, but them of* Arnheim *were called; whether were the other Churches of our Nation or any of them, who could not but be offended, as them of* Amsterdam, Hague, Vtrick, Leyden, Delph, *called in by* Arnheim, *or by the Church at* Roterdam *to joyn in the hearing and trying of that businesse? or did they send Messengers, or was it onely agitate by two Ministers, and two Messengers of the Church of* Arnheim, *one Church only,* Arnheim *to* Roterdam, *one to one, both equall. The Sub-Committee for Accommodation* Prop. 8. *Some of them doe desire, that the effect of that which hereafter followeth, may be for explanation sake inserted, viz. That the Elders and Brethren of such Congregations in case they finde any thing too hard for themselves, or have any controversie among themselves, may have liberty to advise with any of those select Elders and others in the Province joyntly or apart, or with the Elders of any other Churches, for the determining and composing the controversie, or resolving that difficulty.*

(cccc) Bastwicks Independency *second part. Postscript.* p. 6. 7. *They professed that they had rather have the Government of the Prelates then the Presbyteriall, and protest that before Presbyters shall rule over them, they will joyn with Prelaticall Priests, for the re-establishing of the Hierarchy.*

(dddd) Vide supra (rrr).

(eeee) Apol. Nat. p. 17. *What further Authority there is of one or many sister Churches towards another whole Church or*

Churches offending, we do not yet see; and likewise wee doe yet suppose that this principle of submission of Churches that miscarry unto other Churches offended, together with this other, that it is a command from Christ injoyned to Churches that are finally offended, to denounce such a sentence of Non-Communion, and withdrawing from them whilst impenitent, as unworthy to hold forth the name of Christ; these principles are mutuall duties as strictly injoyned them by Christ as any other.

(ffff) Vide supra, *Chap.* 2. (EEEEE).

(gggg) Theomachia, p. 37. *Concerning other civill meanes for the suppression and restraint of these spirituall evills, errours, heresies, &c. as Imprisonment, Banishment, Interdictions, Finings, &c. Both reason and experience conjures in this demonstration, that such fetters as these put upon the feet of errours and heresies to secure and keep them under, still have proved wings whereby they raise themselves the higher in the thoughts and minds of men, and gaine an opportunity of further propagation.*

(hhhh) Ibid. p. 49. 50. *To hold that the persons so elected (the members of the House of Commons, chosen by men unworthy, and strangers to the power of godlinesse) have a power by vertue of such nomination or election, to enact Lawes and Statutes in matters of Religion, and to Order under mulcts and penalties, how men shall worship and serve God, as it is a meanes to awaken the eye of jealousie upon them, and so is seven times more destructive unto and undermining, not only of their power, but of their honour, peace, and safety also, then any thing that is found in the way so ill intreated; so is it the settling upon the electors of such persons, I meane upon the promiscuous multitude of the Land, a greater power then ever Iesus Christ himselfe had, at least then ever he exercised.*

(iiii) Vide supra, (f).

(kkkk) Vide supra, *Chap.* 4. (BB).

(llll) Plaine-dealing, p. 39. *Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates and not by the Ministers.*

(mmmm) Miltons Doctrine of divorce, p. 6. *That indisposition, unfitnesse or contrariety of minde arising from a cause in nature, unchangeable, hindring and ever likely to hinder the maine benefits of conjugall society which are solace and peace, is a greater cause of divorce then naturall frigidity, especially if there be no children, and*

and that there be mutuall conſent. Ibid. p. 15. *God himſelfe commandrin his Law more then once, and by his Prophet* Malachy, *as the beſt Tranſlations read, That hee who hates, let him divorce, that is, he who cannot love,* Ibid. p. 16. *Hee who can receive nothing of the moſt important helps in marriage, being thereby diſabled to return that duty which is his, with a cleare and hearty countenance, and thus continues to grieve whom hee would not, and is no leſſe grieved, that man ought even for loves ſake and peace to move divorce; it is a leſſe breach of wedlock to part with wiſe and quiet conſent betimes, then ſtill to profane that myſtery of joy and union, with a pointing ſullenneſſe and perpetuall diſtemper.* Ibid. p. 63. *Onely theſe perſons are joyned by God, whoſe minds are fitly diſpoſed and enabled to maintaine a cheerefull converſation to the ſolace and love of each other; the reſt whom either diſproportion or deadneſſe of ſpirit or ſomething diſtaſtfull and averſe in the immutable bent of nature renders unconjugall, errour may have joyned, but God never joyned againſt the meaning of his own Ordinance; and if he joyned them not, then there is no power above their own conſent to binder them from unjoyning when they cannot reap the ſobereſt ends of being together in any tolerable ſort.* Ibid. p. 76. *The freedome and eminence of mans creation, gives him to be a Law in this matter to himſelfe, being the head of the other ſex which was made for him, whom therefore though he ought not to injure, yet neither ſhould he be forced to remain in ſociety to his own overthrow, nor to heare any judge therein above himſelfe, it being alſo an unſeemely affront to the modeſty of that ſex, to have her unpleaſingneſſe and other concealements bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by theſe hired maſters of tongue-fence.*

(nnnn) Williams Paper. *I thought good to let you ſee ſome particulars wherein I could not cloſe, nor goe along with them. Firſt, that it is lawfull for a woman who ſees into the myſtery of Chriſt, in caſe her husband will not goe with her, to leave her husband and follow the Lords Houſe; for the Church of God is a Chriſtians home, where ſhee muſt dwell; and where the Saints are, there is the Lords houſe; and in ſo doing, ſhe leaves not her husband, but her husband forſakes her. The odiouſneſſe of this point was further manifeſted unto me by the ſpeech of* Ezekiel Hollimers *wife ſaying that ſhe counted her ſelfe but a widow.*

(oooo) Plaine-dealing, p. 21. *They call the dayes of the week, the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh which is Saturday; also the Moneths beginning at* March, *by the names of the first, second, and so forth to the twelfth, which is* February; *because they would avoid all memory of Heathenish and Idols names.*

(pppp) Ans. to the 32. quest. p. 77. *For settled and stinted maintenance, there is nothing done that way among us except from year to year, because the conditions of Ministers may vary, and of the Church to which they do belong; neither do we know any such thing to be appointed by Christ our Lord for the maintenance of the Ministry in these dayes; the bringing in of settled endowments and eminent Preferments into the Church, hath been the corruption, and to some the destruction of such as lived by them, both Church-Officers and Church-members.*

(qqqq) Cottons Way, p. 38. *The Deacons were elected, and ordained for the serving at Tables, to wit, the serving of all these Tables which pertained to the Church to provide for, which are the Lords Table; the Tables of the Ministers or Elders of the Church, and the Tables of the poore Brethren, whether of their own body, or strangers, for the maintaining whereof we doe not appoint them to goe up and down to collect the benevolences of abler brethren; but as the Apostles received the oblations of the brethren brought and laid down at their feet, and thereby made distribution as the use of the Church required, so the Deacons receive the oblations of the brethren every Lords day, brought unto them and laid down before them, and distribute the same as the need of the Church doth require.*

(rrrr) Ibid.

(ssss) Plaine-dealing, p. 19. *At some other places they make a rate upon every man as well within as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are beholding now and then to the generall Court to study wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Ministry.*

(tttt) Antap. p. 276. *Have you not carried a greater port then most of the godly Ministers in the City or Countrey? have not some of you the prime Lectures of the City and other good places of advantage and profit? besides, what some of you have from your*

your own Churches. Vide ſupra Chap. 4.

(wwww) Baſtwicks Independency, p. 142. 143. *It is well known and can ſufficiently be proved that godly Chriſtians of holy converſation, againſt whom they had no exception either for doctrine or manners, and who offered themſelves to be admitted members upon their own conditions, and yet were not ſuffered to be joyned members, onely becauſe they were poore; and this very reaſon was given them for their not-admiſſion, that they would not have their Church over-burdened with poore,* Ibid. *It was replyed, that the Congregation of which he was Paſtor, conſiſted of great Perſonages, Knights, Ladies, and rich Merchants, and ſuch people as they being but poore, could not walk ſo ſutably with them; wherefore he perſwaded them to joyn themſelves with ſome other Congregation among poore people, where they might better walk, and more comfortably, in fellowſhip them.*

(xxxx) Plaine-dealing, p. 16. *The Paſtor begins with ſolemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre, the Teacher then readeth and expounndeth a Chapter, then a Pſalme is ſung which ever one of the ruling Elders dictates; after that the Paſtor preacheth a Sermon and ſometimes* ex tempore *exhortes, then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a bleſſing.*

(yyyy) Cottons Way p. 66. *Firſt, then when we come into the Church according to the Apoſtles direction,* 1 Tim. 1. *Wee make prayers and interceſſions, and thanksgivings for our ſelves and all men.*

(zzzz) *I have heard the chiefe of our Brethren maintaine this publikely, and I underſtand it is the practice of ſome of them in the City.*

(aaaaa) Cottons Catechiſme, p. 6. *Where there be more Prophets beſides the Elders, they may Propheſie two or three if the time permit, the Elders calling to them, whether in the ſame Church or others, if they have any word of exhortation to the people, to ſay on.*

(bbbbb) Ibid. *And for the bettering of a mans ſelfe or others, it may be lawfull for either young or old, ſave only for women, to aske queſtions from the mouth of the Prophets.*

(ccccc) Anſwer to the 32. queſt. p. 78. *Some think the people have a liberty to aske their queſtions publikely for their better ſatis-*

satisfaction upon very urgent and weighty causes, though even this is doubted of by others; and all judge the ordinary practice of it not necessary; but if it be not meekly and wisely carried, to be inconvenient if not utterly unlawfull; and therefore such asking of questions is seldom used in any Church amongst us, and in most Churches never.

(dddddd) Anatom. p. 26. *In the matter of singing of Psalmes they differ not only from us, but are also at variance among themselves, some thinking it unlawfull for any to sing but he who preacheth; and this hath been the late practice at* Arnheim: *others thinking it unlawfull for women to sing in the Congregation; hence some women at* Rotterdam *doe not sing; I heare also they think it unfit for any at all in such times of the Churches trouble as this.*

(eeeee) Ibid.

(fffff) Vide supra *Chap.* 4. (§ S 1.)

(ggggg) *If the question bee of joyning in some few selected prayers ready by an able and faithfull Minister out of the book, as of the one side we are tender of imputing sins to these that so joyne.* Vide infra (hhhhh.)

(hhhhh) *To that part of the Directory which recommends the use of the Lords Prayer they did enter no dissent:* An Answer to the 32 *Questions* p. 55. *By a Liturgy and forme of prayer, wee suppose you meane not a forme of private prayer, composed for the help of the weaker: as for a forme of prayer in generall, we conceive your meaning cannot be of that; for in is evident that many Preachers constantly use a set forme of prayer of their owne making before their Sermons, with whom the people refuse not to joyne,* ibid. p. 59. *Wee acknowledge the Lords Prayer, and other formes set downe in Scripture, may be lawfully used as payers, due cautions being observed.* Cottons pouring out of the spirit, p. 10. *Not that I would discourage any poore soule from praying on a Book, for I think as we may sing Psalmes on a Book, so we may in some cases pray on a Book.*

(iiiii) Vide supra (f). Also see the Petition of the Inhabitants of the Colony of the *Sommer Islands* p. 2. *Our children die unbaptized, our selves are deprived of the Lords Supper, our daughters cannot be given in marriage.*

(kkkkk) Plaine dealing p. 40. *At New Plymouth Mr* Chancey *stands for dipping in Baptisme only necessary.*

(lllll)

(llll) Cottons Catechism. p. 4. *What manner of men hath God appointed to be received as members of his Church? Answ. Such as doe willingly offer themselves, first to the Lord, and then to the Church, by confessing of their sins, &c.*

(mmmmm) *This wee heare is their Ordinary practice at* London.

(nnnnn) Vide supra *Chap.* 4. (Q). (R).

(ooooo) Vide supra ibid.

(ppppp) *This is the Apologists common confession.*

(qqqqq) *This also they professe as a cleare consequent of the former.*

(rrrrr) Cottons Way p. 68. *The Lords Supper we administer for the substance to the people sitting, according as Christ administred it to his Disciples sitting* Matth. 26. 20. *Who also made a symbolicall use of it to teach the Church their majority over their Ministers in some cases, and their Judiciall Authority, as Cossessors with him at the last judgement.* Luke 22. 27. to 30.

(sssss) *For this the Apologists did plead as much and as sharply as any.*

(ttttt) *I have heard some of their chiefe men discourse publikely enough to this purpose.*

(uuuuuu) Cottons Catechism, p. 10. *The body of the Church hath power from Christ to enquire, and heare, and assist in the judgement of all publike scandals.*

(xxxxx) Vide supra *Chap.* 4. (TT.)

(yyyyy) Vide supra *Chap.* 6. (x).

(zzzzz) Answer the 32. Question. p. 61. *If it appeare, they who dissent from the maior part, are fallaciously or partially carried, the rest labour to convince them of their errour by the rule; if they yeeld, the consent of all comfortably concurreth in the matter: if they still continue obstinate, they are admonished, and so standing under censure, their vote is nullified.*

(aaaaaa) Ibid. *If the difference still continue, the sentence is still demurred even till other Churches have beene consulted with: if the Church or Elders should refuse the Testimony of other Churches according to God, they will deny them the right hand of fellowship, &c.*

(bbbbbb) Short story p. 32. *Mris Hutchinson kept*

open house for all Comers, and set up a weekelecture dayes in the week; whenthey usually met at her house three or fourescore persons, the pretence was to repeate Sermons; but when that was done, she would comment upon the Doctrines, and interpret all passages at her pleasure: she did lay all that opposed her, being neare all the Elders and most of the faithfull Christians in this Country, under a Covenant of Works to advance her Master-piece of immediate Revelations; wherein she had not failed of her aime, to the utter subversion both of Churches and civill State, if the Lord had not prevented it. Ibid. p. 34. What say you to your weekly publike meetings? Answ. There were such meetings in use before I came; we began it with five or six, and though it grew to more in future time, yet being tolerated at the first, I knew not why it might not continue. The Courts reply, There were private meetings indeed, and are still in many places, of some few neighbours; we allow you to teach younger women privately, and upon occasion; but that gives no warrant for such set meetings for that purpose, neither doe ye teach them that which the Apostle commands, to keep at home.

(ccccccc) Apologet. Nar. p. 19. To the Magistrate we give as much, and as we think, more then the principles of the Presbyteriall Government will suffer them to yeeld.

(ddddddd) Williams Paper, Prop. 2. That the Saints are not to submit to the powers of the world or worldly powers, and that the powers and governments of the world have nothing to doe with them for civill misdemeanors; these Governours must keepe in their owne sphere, as Whales, not to governe Whales, but other fishes; Lions, not to governe Lions, but the beasts of the forrest; Eagles, not to governe Eagles, but the other fowles of the ayre.

(eeeeee) Mr. Williams related to me, that Mistris Hutchinson (with whom he was familiarly acquainted, and of whom he spake much good) after she had come to Rod Island, and her husband had been made Governour there, she perswaded him to lay downe his Office, upon the opinion which newly she had taken up of the unlawfulnesse of Magistracy.

(fffff) Bloody Tenet, p. 135. Williams sets downe these words of Cottons model. The proper means whereby the civill power may and should attain its end, are only politicall, and principally these five: First, the erecting and establishing what forme of civill Government may

may serve in wisedome most meet according to the generall rules of the word and state of the people; upon those words Williams comment; shun; from this grant I inferre, that the Soveraigne originall and foundation of civill power lies in the people whom they must needs meane by the civill power distinct from the Government set up; and if so, that a people may erect and establish what forme of Government seems to them most meet for their civill condition, it is evident that such Governments as are by them erected and established, have no more power, nor for no longer time, then the civill power or people consenting and agreeing shall betrust them with. This is cleare, not only in reason, but in the experience of all Common-weals where the people are not deprived of their naturall freedom by the power of Tyrants. How right this Comment ary is, Mr. Cottons owne words will declare, set downe p. 140. In a free State no Magistrate hath power over the Bodies, Goods, Lands, Liberties of a free people, but by their free consents: and because free men are not free Lords of their owne estates, but are only stewards under God; therefore they may not give their free consents to any Magistrate to dispose upon their Bodies, Landes, Liberties as large as themselves please, but as God the Soveraigne Lord of all pleases; and because the word is a perfect rule, as well of righteousnesse as holinesse, it will be therefore necessary that wether the people give consent, nor that the Magistrate take power, but according to the limits of the Word.

(gggggg) Vide supra. Chap. 5. E.

(hhhhhh) Baftwicks Independency second part. Postscript p. 65. It may evidently appeare, that all the proviso's of the Independents in getting prime places by Sea and land, and in the Armies, and in the Townes, Cities, Forts, and Castles, and all other places, and in all Commissions, it onely for the advancing Power and fomenting of their Faction and that I conceive to be the only cause of all the insolvencies Committed through the Kingdome.

(iiiiii) Williams Examination, p. 4. After my publike triall, one of the most eminent Magistrates stood up and spoke, Mr. Williams, said he, hold forth that it is not lawfull to call a wicked person to sweare, to pray, as being abhorr of Gods worship.

(kkkkkk) Vide supra. Chap. 3. TT. WW. AAA.

(llllll) Lieutenant Generall Cromwells Letter to the Parliament from Dublin, declaring united in formes commonly

called uniformity, every Christian for peace sake would study and doe as farre as conscience would permit; and from Brethren, in things of the minde we look for no compulsion but that of light and Reason; in other things God has put the sword into the Parliaments hands for the terrour of evill doers, and the praise of them that doe well; if any plead exemption from it, he knowes not the Gospell.

(IIIIII) Vide supra *Chapter* 2. (HHHHHH), (IIIII) (KKKKK).

(mmmmmm 1) Vide supra ibid.

(mmmmmm 2) Vide infra (mmmmmm 3)

(mmmmmm 3) Cottons Modell of Power *in the* Bloody Tenet p. 140. *The Magistrate in making Lawes about civill and indifferent things in the common-wealth; First, hee hath no power given him of God to make what Lawes he pleases, either in restraining from, or constraining to the use of indifferent things; because that which is indifferent in its nature, may sometimes be inexpient in its use, and consequently unlawfull: it is a prerogative-power to God to require obedience of the sons of men, because of his Authority and Will. It is an evill speech in some, that in some things the will of the Law, not the reason of it, must be the rule of Conscience to walk by: and the Princes may forbid men to seek any other reason but their Authority, yea when they command vain frivola & dura; and therefore it is the duty of the Magistrates in all Lawes about indifferent things, to shew the reasons, not only the will; to shew the expediency as well as the indifferency of things of that nature; and because the judgement of expedients and expedient things, is often difficult and diverse, it is meet that such Lawes should not proceed without due consideration of the rules of expediency set down in the word, which are these three; First, the rule of Piety, that they may make for the glory of God, 1 Cor. 10. 31. Secondly, the rule of charity, that no scandal come thereby to any weak Brother, 1 Cor. 8. 13. Thirdly, the rule of Charity, that no man be forced to submit against his Conscience, Rom. 14. 14, 23.*

(nnnnnn 1) Vide supra *Chap.* 2. (KKKKK.)

(nnnnnn 2) Cottons Modell in the Bloody Tenet p. 140. *The Magistrate hath power to publish and apply such civill Lawes in a State as either are expresse in the word of God, or Moral Judiciall; to wit, so farre as they are of generall and morall equity, and*

so

so binding all Nations in all ages; or else to be deduced by way of generall consequence and proportion from the word of God.

(nnnnnn3) Ibid. p. 118. *A strange model of a Church and Common-wealth after the Mosaicall and Iewish patterne, framed by many able, learned and Godly hands, which wakens Moses from his unknown grave, and denies Iesus yet to have seen the earth.*

(oooooo) Plaine Dealing. p. 23. *The Ministers give their votes in all election of Magistrates.*

(pppppp) Ibid. p. 25. *The Ministers advise in making of lawes, especially Ecclesiasticke, and are present in Courts, and advise in some cases criminall, and in framing of fundamentall Lawes.* Ibid. p. 27. *A draught of a body of fundamentall Lawes, according to the Iudiciall lawes of the Iewes, hath been contrived by the Ministers and Magistrates, and offered to the Generall Court to be established and published to the people.*

(qqqqqq) Cottons third Vial, p. 8. *In old time, if a man plaid the false Prophet, the Lord iudged him to death; and so in the New Testament, as in the Old, he condemnes all such to death; it is a Law* Deut. 13. *That false Prophets who did fundamentally pervert Religion, should not live; if high Treason against Princes on earth iustly be punished by death, verily this is as dishonourable to the Prince of all Princes; that whole* 13 *of* Deut. *is spent about the seducing of false Prophets, and he puts a threefold gradation; if he be a Prophet, Therefore never so seemingly holy by his place and gifts, he shall surely be put to death: if there be never so many that shall ioyne, if a whole City shall ioyne together in such a course, then shalt rise against it and destroy the City, and burne it with fire, and leave not a stone upon a stone.* Ibid. p. 12. *The third reason is taken from the iust desert of soule-murther; there is none of all the Priests, or Iesuites, or Heretickes, but they worry and devoure the soules of Gods people; and this murther of souls is iustly a capitall crime, as Moses said before: if they thrust thee from thy God, let not thine eye spare such kind of corrupters.* Ibid. p. 16. *Are not* Moses *morall Lawes of perpetuall equity, and therefore to be observed in all ages? Is not murther of soules as damnable now as then? a wonder that such friuolous interpretations should come in the hearts of men, to hinder the free passage of the Iustice of Gods such unspeakable Offenders.* Cottons third Vial, p. 8: *In the* 22 *of Iosua, when the two Tribes and an half set up an Altar*

by

by Iordan, *although they thought not to bring in another object of worship, but another manner of worship; yet the other Tribes would have cut them off if they had found another Altar for worship: he is the same God, and his zeale is as deeply provoked against the like kinde of viciousnesse now as ever he was then,* Ibid. p. 17. *A soule that sinneth of ignorance, may be pardoned; but if he shall continue obstinate, were it a City or a Tribe, they shall not suffer such in a Commonwealth; but you will say that the Tares and wheat may grow together; grant: but it is not said that the briars and thorns should grow up with them,* Ibid. p. 19. *You see the first use is to justifie the equity of such capitall punishments upon Priests and Iesuites, and consequently on such who bring in other Gods, or another way of worshipping the true God then that wherein wee may enjoy fellowship with the true GOD.*

Cottons third Viall, p. 19. 20. *For a second use, it may serve to reprove the carnall and sinfull foolish pity that is found in any state that shall bee sparing to spill such blood of the Priests and Iesuites; the Lord loatheth this kind of lenity and indulgence; cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently; and cursed is he that keepeth back his sword from blood, when the Lord calls us to unsheath the sword of Authority on such kind of Delinquents; a state shall be separate from God for these tolerations.*

(rrrrrr) Vide supra Chap. 6. (f).

(ssssss) Goodwins Theomachy; *also* Chap. 5. (G). (H). *and* Chap. 6. (kkkkkk2), *also* Chap. 6. (bbbb), (hhhh).

CHAP. VII.

It is unjust scrupulosity to require satisfaction of the true grace of every Church-Member.

The *Independents* prime principles.

HAving set down the proceedings and Tenets of the *Brownists* and *Independents*, so farre as my slender reading of some of their writings and observation of their wayes have brought to my memory at this time: Before I leave them, it will not bee unfit to examine the truth of their chiefe principles whereby they have disturb'd the Church, and will continue so to doe untill they have

have changed their minde. For shortnesse, I will pitch but upon four grounds which the *Independents* have learned in the *Brownists* schoole: The first, concerning the members of a Congregation; The next three concerning their power. Wee will first consider whether the members of every particular Church bee obliged at their first admission to shew the whole Congregation convincing signes of their Regeneration and true grace. Secondly, whether the people of a Congregation have a power of voycing in every Ecclesiasticall affaire. Thirdly, whether the power of the Congregation be absolute and *Independent*? Fourthly, whether every man who hath a gift though not an Office, hath power to preach and prophesie publikely.

The first question is of the greatest importance: The *Independents* would gladly dissemble their minde therein; to this day they have declined all solemn debate upon it, they speake as if they were either fully or very neare accorded with us, professing their utter dislike of the *Brownists* unreasonablenesse herein; but I professe this hath alwayes seemed to me their capitall and fundamentall difference, the onely cause of their separation from us, and wherein if we could either agree or accommodate; there would be a faire possibilty of accord in all things else, at least so farre as to be united in one and the same Church; but this difference, is the great partition wall, which so long as it stands, will force them to continue their intolerable practice of separating from all the Reformed Churches in the World, and that for fewer and more unjust causes then any who ever did carry the name of Separatist, to this day did pretend. This seemes to be the reason why both *Appollinius* and *Spanheim* very excellent Divines, have begun their dispute with this question.

Their Tenet about the qualification of members, is the great cause of their separating from all the Reformed Churches though they doe dissemble it.

For the stating of the controversie, consider how it stands betwixt us and the *Independents* at this time. The *Brownists* for their separation were wont to alledge the impurity of our worship, the corruption of our Government, the open prophanesse of the most in our Congregations. By the mercy of God, the first is fully reformed, at least so farre according to the minde of our Brethren, that they have entred no dissenting vote to any one passage of the Directory for Worship: The Government also is so farre cleared in the assembly, that they have entred their dissent

dissent from no part of it, except that alone which concerns the Jurisdiction of *Presbyteries* and Synods; and their dissent herein, might & still may wel be so carried as not to occasion any breach.

In this they go beyond the *Brownists*.

But the third is the great cause of division, wherein they much out-runne the *Brownists*; for they did never offer to separate upon this ground alone; and the matter whereupon here they stumbled, was only open prophanenesse and that incorrigible, either through want of power, or want of care to remedy it. If the prophanenesse was not open and visible, or if the Church had her full power to execute discipline, according to her power made conscience really to censure scandals: These things as I conceive, would have abundantly satisfied the *Brownists*, and cured their separation.

The true state of the question is, wether it be necessary to separate from a Church, wherein wee get no satisfaction of the true grace of every Member at their first admission.

But the *Independents* now doe draw them up much higher then they were wont to stand; They teach them to stumble non only at open prophanenesse, but at the want of true grace; yet at the want of convincing signes of Regeneration: They teach them to require not only a power and care in the Church to censure such prophanenesse, but also a power in every member of the Church to keepe out all others with whom they are not satisfied in the truth of their grace; So the question is not as usually it is made, of the quality of the members of the Church, but of the necessity to separate from that Church wherein we are not satisfied by convincing signes of the true faith and grace of every member at their first admission. Wee grant it is earnestly to be wished, and all lawfull meanes would diligently bee used both by Pastors and people, to have all the members of a Church most holy and gracious, and what ever lawfull overture our Brethren can invent for this end, we with all our heart will imbrace it, or else be content to beare much blame; We grant also, that it is the duty of Church-Governours to keep off every scandalous person from profaning to their own damnation the holy things of the Lord; and that it is the duty of these Governours, not only to suspend from the holy Table all scandalous persons, but farther to cast all such out of the Church without respect of persons in the case of obstinacy, when by no meanes they can bee brought to satisfactory repentance; we grant also, that Church-Governours deficient in these duties, ought themselves to be disciplined by the rod of Church-Censures; these things were never controverted. But the questi-

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on is, whether because of the admission of some to Church membership who have not given satisfaction to every member of the Church in the point of their reall Regeneration, a Church may lawfully be separated from, as vitiously constitute, for that essentiall defect in its very matter?

Our Brethrens constant and resolute practice albeit guilded over with many faire words, maketh this to be the cleare state of the question, against which I reason thus:

First, what to *Moses* and the Prophets was not a sufficient cause of separation from the Churches of their time, is not a sufficient cause for us to separate from the Churches in our times. But want of satisfaction by convincing signes of the true grace of many members of the Church, was not a sufficient cause for *Moses* and the Prophets to separate in their times. *Ergo*: The minor is cleare and uncontroverted; for *Moses* and the Prophets were so far from separating from the Churches of their dayes for want of assurance of the true grace of every person in these Churches that they remained still to their dying day in the bosome of these Churches, communicating with them in the Word, Prayer, Sacraments and Sacrifices, though they were assured of the evident wickednesse of the most of their fellow-members. *Moses* knew the body of *Israel* to be a crooked and perverse generation: *Esaiah* tells the *Jewes* that they were another *Sodom*; *Jeremy* sheweth that *Israel* in his dayes was uncircumcised in heart, no better then *Moab*, *Ammon*, or *Edom*; *Micah*, that the Godly in his time were very rare as the summer fruits, as the Grapes after the Vintage: of this truth all the Prophets are full; yea for all this, none of the Prophets did ever think of a separation.

For the Negative, we reason first from the practice of *Moses* & the Prophets, who did never offer to separate for any such reason

All the difficulty then is in the major, which thus we prove: The Church in the dayes of *Moses* and the Prophets, was one and the same with the Church of our dayes: The House of God, the body of Christ, the Elect and redeemed people, the Holy Nation, the peculiar treasure and spouse of the Lamb: The difference of the true Church in any age is at most but in accidentall circumstances, and not in any essentials: so what ever morall evill doth defile the Church now, such is a just cause of ejection or separation, that must be so at all times, especially under the old Testament, where all the Ceremoniall differences that are alledged betwixt the

The causes of a just separation were smaller under the Law, nor under the Gospel.

Church then and now, make for the strengthning of the Argument; for then the causes of separation were stricter and smaller; a little Ceremoniall pollution would then have kept out of the sanctuary; much more a morall uncleanneſſe would have made the sacrifice abominable. If therefore at that time the matter in hand was no cauſe of separating from the Church, much leſſe can it be ſo now, when God hath given a greater liberty to the Church in her majority, and when Chriſtians are not ſo eaſily infected by their neighbours ſinnes as of old in the dayes of the Churches infancy they were; Idolatry, falſe doctrine, open profanenеſſe, were then moſt abominable, and more terribly puniſhed then now, by the totall deſtruction of whole Cities and countries wherein they were entertained; alſo the duty of mutuall inſpection and admonition, the contempt whereof is made the ground-cauſe of ſeparation, was moſt clearly enjoyned in the Old Teſtament.

The weakneſſe of their reply.

What here is replyed, that all ſeparation from the Iewiſh Church was ſimply impoſſible, becauſe then there was no other Church in the whole earth to goe to: We anſwer, that the Repliers themſelves will ſay that a ſeparation muſt be where there is juſt cauſe, and where a perſon cannot abide without pollution and ſin, although there be no other Church for him to go to, for they make it better for men to live alone ſeparate from all, then to abide in any Church where they cannot live without the participation of their neighbours ſinnes. We anſwer further, that it was eaſie for the Godly under the Law to have joyned together in the ſervice of God & to have excluded the wicked then: and whereas it is ſaid that this could not be done; becauſe the Cenſure of Excommunication was not then in being; We anſwer, the Goſpell makes it cleare; That caſting out of the Synogogue which was reall Excommunication, was frequent in the Old Teſtament; as alſo the keeping off from the ſervice with a great deale of circumſpection all who were unfit by any legall pollution, much more by any known morall uncleanneſſe; Kings themſelves when polluted, were removed from the Altar and put out of the Sanctuary.

Our ſecond reaſon, is from the example of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, who did not ſeparate for any ſuch cauſes.

Again, I reaſon thus; That which moved not Chriſt and his Apoſtles to ſeparate from the Church of their time, is no cauſe to us of ſeparation; but, want of ſatisfaction by convincing ſigns of the true

true grace of every member of the Church, was to them no cause of separation from the Churches of their times. *Ergo.*

The major is cleare, except we define a better patterne for our practices then Christ and his Apostles; whatsoever carrieth us beyond their line, must be high presumption and deep hypocrisie.

The minor is cleare, by many Scriptures; the Scribes and Pharisees were a generation of Vipers; *Jerusalem* worse then *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*; *Corazin* and *Bethsaida* was worse then *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, and to be cast lower in Hell then these: yet the Lord did not give over to preach, to pray, to goe to the Temple with them. *Judas* when a declared Traytor, did not scarre him, nor any of his company from the Sacrament. After he went from the Table when his wickednesse was revealed; that a Devill was in him; yet none of the Apostles offered to cast themselves out of the body because this wicked member was not cut off. Many members of the Apostolick Churches were so farre from convincing signes of true grace, that the works of the flesh were most evident in their life. In the *Corinthians*, fundamentall errours, open Idolatry, grievous scandals, bitter contentions, profanation of the Lords table. In the *Galatians*, such errours as destroyed grace, and made Christ of none effect. In the Church of *Ephesus*, of *Laodicea*, and the other golden Candlesticks, divers members were so evidently soule, that the Candlestick is threatned to be removed; yet from none of these Churches did any of the Apostles ever separate, nor gave they the least warrant to any of their Disciples to make a separation from any of them.

A third Argument. The want of that which never was to bee found in any Church, is no just cause of separation: But satisfaction by convincing Arguments of the true grace of every member, was never to be found in any Church.

The third reason; it is impossible to find true grace in every member of any visible Church that ever was or shall be in the world.

The major is unquestionable; for what is not, cannot have any operation, *ad entia nulla fiunt accidentia.*

The minor is demonstrable from the nature of a visible Church; it is such a body whose members are never all gracious, if we believe Scripture; It is not like the Church invisible, the Church of the Elect. It is an heterogeneous body; the parts of it are very dissimilar, some chaffe, some corne, some wheat, some tares; a mixt visible good and bad; a House wherein are Vessels of honour and

and dishonour, a fold of sheep and goats, a tree of green and withered branches, a table of guests, some with, some without a wedding garment; in a word, every visible Church is a society wherein many are called, few chosen; except therefore wee will alter the nature of all visible Churches whereof Scripture speakes, wee must grant that in every Church there are some members which have no true grace: and if so, how can they give convincing and satisfactory signes of that which is not to be found? Hypocrites may make a shew without, of that which is not within; but shall we lay an obligation upon every hypocriticall member of a Church to bee so eminently skilfull in the art of counterfeiting as to produce in the midst of his graceles nesse, so clear, so evident and satisfactory signes of his true grace, as may convince the hearts of every one of the Church that the thing is within the mans breast which certainly is not there?

The fourth, this satisfaction in the true grace of all to be admitted, is builded on foure errours; first that the power of Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction is in the hand of every one of the people.

The fourth Argument, The want of that which cannot reasonably be supposed of every member of a Congregation, is no just cause of separation from any Church. But satisfaction, &c. *Ergo.*

The major is cleare; for if the want of such satisfaction be a just cause of separation from the Church; then the presence of such a satisfaction is very requisite to be in every member, as a necessary meane to keep it in union with that Church.

The minor, that such a satisfaction may not justly be supposed in every member of a Congregation; for this would import these foure things, all which are unreasonable. First, that every member of a congregation is to have power to try all its fellow-members, to let them in or hold them out, according as in this triall he is satisfied: This is a large limb of the Brownistick Anarchy, putting the key of Authority and Jurisdiction into the hand of every Church-member; if all the *Independents* will defend this, let them speak it out plainly.

Secondly, that one man may attaine to the certain knowledge of the true grace in the heart of another.

Secondly, it requires a great deale of more ability in every member in every Church, then can be found in any mortall man: for not to speake of the impossibility of a grounded and certaine perswasion of true grace in the heart of an hypocrite, who hath no grace at all: how is it possible to attaine unto any grounded certainty of true grace in the heart of any other man? for the hid man of the heart, and the new name, are not certainly known to

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any but to such as have them. The grounds of a mans own certain perswasion, the act of his faith either direct or reflex, the witnesse of his conscience, or the seale of the spirit, cannot goe without his own breast: all the demonstrations which can be made to another, are so oft found false, that in understanding men they can breed at most but a fallible opinion, or a charitable hope, which is farre from any certainty either of sense or science, much more of faith or immediate revelation.

Thirdly, It layeth a burthen unsupportable to the strongest, upon the conscience of every weak one; they must ever be in perplexity and doubt what to doe, whether to stay in the Church, or under the pain of sin to separate from it, till they have accurately examined, and after all needfull tryall attained to a full satisfaction and assurance of minde of the regeneration of every member, were they never so many of that Church whereunto he belongeth: The burthen of such a task might break the back of the strongest Pastor, much more of a silly Lamb.

Thirdly, that it is a duty of every member of a Church to seek and finde satisfaction in the true grace of all his fellow members.

Fourthly, this presupposeth that all Congregations must of new be gathered, and all their members admitted of new, which none may grant who minds not for the *Independents* pleasure at once to dissolve all the Reformed churches, and to avow that every person though born in the true Church, within the Covenant of grace sealed in Baptisme with the seal of God, religiously educated in the feare and knowledge of God, is notwithstanding without the Church, and no member of the body of Christ, till he be admitted to the Lords Supper. Ordinarily in all Christendome persons are actuall members of the Church wherein they were borne of faithfull parents, baptised and Christianly educated, before they be admitted to the holy Table. The case and question of admitting members by a Congregation after all are convinced of the true grace of him who craveth membership among them, is but a new, rash, unjust case of the *Independents*, which will inferre the gathering of new Churches, the dissolution of all our old ones, and lay a high royall street for Anabaptism, excluding all our baptised children from Church-membership till they give personall satisfaction of their true grace, and enter into a formall expresse Covenant.

Fourthly, that all the Reformed Churches must at once be dissolved and unchurched, that they may bee reformed according to the new mould of the *Independents*.

I adde but one other reason; No reall absurdity doth follow upon any divine truth; but divers reall absurdities follow necessarily upon the

The fifth argument. Their Tenet is followed with divers absurdities.

the ground of Separation in hand. *Ergo*, the ground of Separation in hand is no divine truth, but an evill errour.

The major no man controverts; for every true consequent is a streame that flowes out of the antecedent as its fountaine; as the fountain is bitter or sweet, so are the streams; from a true antecedent a false consequent by no force can be extorted; if the consequent be rotten, it is a sure sign the antecedent is not sound.

As first, it is necessary to separate from all Churches that are this day in the world, except it be from these of the *Independents*.

The absurd consequents I name for the proofe of the minor, are, First, That then it shall be necessary to separate from all the Churches that are this day in the world, except alone from these of the Independent way; for no other Church doth so much as intend or assay to give assurance to every one of their members of the true grace of all the rest; but on the contrary they teach such an endeavour to be both impossible and unreasonable. The absurdity of the consequent is so cleare, that I pursue it no farther then to this Dilemma; If it be necessary to separate from all the Churches of the world but the *Independents*; Then, all other Churches but theirs are false, or else it is lawfull to separate from Churches that are true; but, neither of these will sound well in a Protestant eare.

Secondly, it was necessary to separate from all churches that ever have been.

The second absurd consequent, that then it was necessary to separate from all other Churches that have been in any former time; for not one of them ever, no not the greatest Schismaticks, the Novatians, the Donatists themselves, did ever minde that every one of their members should so narrowly examine all their fellows as to come to a certain perswasion of their reall regeneration.

Thirdly, there can be no rest for any till they turn Seekers, and leave all societies that are called Churches.

The third consequent, that then to the worlds end no Church any where can have any solid foundation; for this principle is a mountain of quick-silver that rests not till all the Churches builded upon it be quite overthrown. The conviction of every members conscience of the true faith and grace of all their fellow members, is so sandy a foundation, that nothing builded upon it can stand: What else hath broken in halves, and quarters, and demi-quarters these separate Societies? What made them of *Amster-dam* first break off from *England*, then from *Holland*, and all the Reformed, then among themselves once and the second time? What made *Smith* at *Leyden*, after he had fallen off from *England*, next to leave the *Brownists*, and after the *Anabaptists*, till at last he broke off from all Christians to the Arrian heresie? What else doth

doth drive many of *Old* and of *New-England*, when they have run about the whole circle of the Sects, at last to break out into the newest way of the *Seekers*, and once for all to leape out of all Churches, betaking themselves to their devotions apart: here indeed it is, and nowhere else, where they come to a possibility of satisfaction of the inward estate of these in their way, that is of themselves alone. This is the reward of presumptuous errour; it cannot rest when it hath led the seduced soule about the whole round of the fancies of the time, till at last it throw it out of all that is called or so much as pretended to be a Church.

Cottons reasons to the contrary answered.

The reasons alledged for the opposite tenet, may be seen in the *Brownists* Apology, also in *Robinsons* Justification, in *Canes* necessity of Separation, in *Barrows* Discovery; but for shortnesse we will only consider what is brought by Mr. Cotton in his *Way of churches*; for there, the best of the *Brownists* arguments are brought in the greatest lustre and strength which Mr. *Cotton* thought meet to put upon them. Also what there is brought by Mr. *Cotton*, is acknowledged by our Brethren as their judgement, without the hæsitation of any marginall asterisk, which when they dissent or doubt, they professe to affix to some other passages of that book.

His first reason put in form.

The best forme that I can see on his first argument, is this; If every member of each Church is not only in profession, but in sincerity and truth to be a Saint and faithfull; then the Officers and body of each Church must take tryall, and be satisfied of the true faith and sanctification of every person before they receive him into the Church; but, every member of each Church is not onely in profession, but in sincerity and truth to be a Saint and faithfull; *Ergo*, the Officers and body of each Church must take tryall, and be satisfied of the true faith and sanctification of every person before they receive him into the Church. All the proofe is bestowed upon the minor from these Scriptures which make all the members of the Church to be Saints by calling and faithfull Brethren: the Church it selfe to bee the body of Christ, the Temple of the holy Ghost, the Spouse of Christ, the sons and daughters and children of God.

All the parts of it are vitious, the conclusion proves not the question.

We answer that no part of this argument is sound. The major, minor, and conclusion are vitious. First, the conclusion, commeth not neare the question; for were it granted, it concludes no more but

but a duty of the Church-officers and members to try and be satisfied about the state of these who are to bee received into the Church, but it hath no word of an other duty which is the point in question: It speaks nothing of a necessity to separate from a Church upon the neglect of the former duty; this alone is the state of the present controversie, which neither is expressed nor by any consequence doth follow from any thing that is expressed in this conclusion: for suppose it were a duty laid by God upon every Church-Officer and member, to inquire accurately after the Faith and Sanctification of all to be received among them, and to expect satisfaction in their tryall; yet I hope that every neglect of duty in the Church-Officers, much lesse in every Church-member, and least of all the want of successe of a duty truly performed, will not be found a just and necessary cause for every one to separate from a Church; if all this be not expresly concluded, this arrow misseth the marke.

It stands upon a chief ground of Anabaptism and presupposes the nullity of all the Reformed Churches.

Secondly, that which is expressed in the conclusion, pitcheth only upon one particular case, which the Reformed Churches neither do nor may acknowledge; for it speaks only of admission of members upon their confession of sins. This fits well the practice of the *Brownists*, who suppose a necessity to dissolve the Reformed Churches that now are as viciously constituted from their first beginning. They may seeme to have reason in their gathering of new Churches, to put their members to tryall before admission; but the Reformed Churches who take themselves to be so farre true, that they need no dissolution or new erection, are not concerned in this case of admission; for their members were borne in the Church, and had the Covenant sealed to them in Baptisme; what tryall they take of their Children when they admit them to the Lords Table, is no wayes for their admission to be members; for this practice is a main pillar of Anabaptisme; and our brethrens engagement therein, is the ground of all their sympathy and symbolising with that Sect: So then the conclusion commeth short of the question, and toucheth not the Reformed Churches, but is builded on the pillars of rigid Separation and Anabaptisme taking that for granted which no Reformed Church may admit, but upon hard termes; no milder then the nullity and dissolution of all their Churches; that out of their rubbish, a new Building

may

may be erected after the Separatists patterne.

The major also is vitious; for suppose the antecedent of it were true, yet there is no force therein to inferre the consequent; be it so that every Church-member ought to be so holy as you will; yet, can this inferre the peoples power to try that holinesse which is the one halfe of the consequent? Such a power in the people would make every one of them a Church-Governour, which none of the Reformed Churches, nor the halfe of the Separatists themselves will admit; and they who doe plead for it, set it upon other pillars; but no man I know deduceth it from any thing in the antedent now in hand. The major is many wayes vitious.

For the rest of the consequent, the Officers satisfaction in the true and sincere grace of the members at their first admission, if it have any truth, yet it commeth too short of reason, and runnes also farre beyond the most rigid Separatists. If a triall must be made of Church-members, why at their first admission alone and never after? It is not an ordinary case in all Churches, and as much among the *Brownists* and *Independents* as any other, that many who at first have been taken for truly regenerate, have thereafter fallen to such errours in judgement and such practices in life, as have given just ground to conclude the irregeneration of some, and to doubt the regeneration of others? Now, if the uncertainty of regeneration, be a just cause to hold a man out of all Churches, is it not as just a cause to cast a man out of a Church, when by doctrine or life, this uncertainty appears, which at first was covered? yet none of our Brethren affirm that the uncertainty of regeneration, nor the certainty of irregeneration is a just ground to cast any man out of the Church who once is come in. The consequent also runs wide of the rigid Separatists; for the holinesse they require, is expressly externall, which may stand with the internall wickednesse of hypocrites: but the consequent speaks of inward sincerity contradistinguished from all outward professions.

The Minor is the part of the argument which they labour to fortifie, knowing the greatest weight to lie upon it: We doe deny it as a very dangerous errour; every member of a visible Church is not in truth and sincerity a Beleever and Saint: This is against Scripture and all experience in every visible Church; all who are called are not chosen: In the field of God there are tares among the But the minor is the most faulty part of the Argument.

the wheat, in his fold goats amongst the sheep, in his net bad Fishes among the good, in his house vessels for dishonour, not for honour only. In the best Churches of the scripture, we have two many bad members, *Iudas*, *Ananias* and *Saphira*, *Simon Magus*, *Hymeneus*, and *Philetus*, *Demas* and the like; They dare not deny but some graceless hypocrites are in their best Congregations; and if they should deny it, the frequent out-breaking of their enormities to the eyes of the world would extort their confession.

The proofes of the minor are answered.

The proofes they bring, come not up to the question; that in the first of the *Corinthians*, first and second, *sanctified in Christ, and called to be Saints*; If yee understand it of an outward calling alone,

The first.

it is not pertinent; if of an inward efficacious call, it is true, not of every member, but of some only, and is attributed to the whole Church of *Corinth* indefinitely, because of these some, who truly were elected, justified, and sanctified; but that this was not true of all and every one of of that Church, is cleare by the Apostles complaint of many among them; of some for Incest, of others for injurious defrauding of their neighbours, of some for carnall Schismes, of others for prophane drunkennesse at the Lords Table it selfe, of others for fundamentall errours.

The second.

The first of the *Gal.* 2. v. hath nothing sounding toward the present question; but the fourth verse is brought by the *Brownists* to something neare it; that Christ had dyed for the *Galatians* sinners *and separated them from this present evill world*; if this import any true grace, yet it may not be applyed to every member of that Church; for in the words following, the Apostle beareth witnesse that sundry of them were removed to another Gospell; that they were foolish and bewitched to rebell against the truth.

The third and main proofe of the minor.

The relation of the Church to the persons of the Trinity, that it is the Body and Spouse of CHRIST, the Temple of the holy Ghost, the sonnes and daughters of the Father, must bee understood as many such priviledges, of the universall and invisible Church; or when any of them are to be applyed to a particular visible Church, they must be understood of that Church not according to every one, but only the living and gracious members thereof. That such priviledges of the Catholicke invisible CHURCH when they are applyed to a particular visible Congregation, are to be understood according to this distinction of members, *Robinson* him-

himselfe while yet in his rigid separation grants it expressly.

The places thus expounded, prove not the point; for grant to every Congregation so high Priviledges as you will; yet if they must be verified of that Congregation only according to some members, and not according to all; if they be to be understood only of the Elect in that Congregation who have the sanctifying Spirit of Christ, not of many others who are dead in nature, and yet are such members who have right from God according to our Brethrens own Tenet, to perform Church acts, such as are the preaching of the Gospel, the celebration of the Sacraments, the admission of members, the execution of censures with such authority from Christ, as makes all these acts truly valid for the comfort and salvation of the Elect; they Prove not the true grace of every person whom we must acknowledg to be a true member of a Church.

If you will extend these places to every singular member of particular visible Churches, as indeed the Argument if it have any strength, doth import, the absurdity will be great; for so it will carry to the *Pelagianisme* of *Arminius* in the extent of the true grace of God beyond the Elect, to all the members of a visible Church; also to the totall and finall Apostacy of many who are the Temples of the holy Ghost, the members of Christ, the faithfull and sanctified children of God: For the Argument maketh every member of any visible church to be such, & daily experience proves that many members of every visible Church are castawayes.

This driveth to universall grace and apostacy of the the Saints.

Yea the Argument drives further then any of the *Arminians* will follow; for how ever, they extend the true and saving grace of God beyond the Elect members of a Church, yet none of them ever said that this sanctifying and saving grace must bee in every person before they can bee admitted members of any Church; For this is that grosse errour which the *Independents* have learned not so much from *Arminius* as *Socinus* to put all men unconverted without the Church, that in this condition they may be converted by the preaching of private men, and if by Pastors, yet by their Preaching, not as Pastors, but as private men dealing with these who are none of their Flock, but without the Church.

Yea, to *Socinianisme* and further.

Neither do the *Socinians* so farre as I know, extend their Tenet thus far, as to require all before they be members of the Church, to be truly regenerate, as if the only instrument of regene-

generation and conversion, were the preaching of private Men without the Church; and the preaching of Pastors within the Church did serve only for the continuing of the sence of justification and the increase of sanctification, as being performed of purpose only unto these persons who at their first entrance into the Church while yet they were without and but comming in, have demonstrate the certainty of their enjoying these graces.

His second argument.

The second argument. God receives none to be members of the visible Church, but those who shall be saved: but the Stewards of Gods house may receive none but whom God doth receive: *Ergo*, the Stewards of Gods house may receive none to be members of a visible Church but those who shall be saved.

The Conclusion is faulty.

Answer. The conclusion is subject to the most of the faults observed upon the conclusion of the former Argument, which I doe not repeat; only consider that this conclusion beareth expresly that none may be members of a visible Church but these who shall be saved, and so who are truly Elect. We would not be deceived with their distinctions of inward & outward holinesse, of seeming and reall grace, of charitable and veritable discerning; for this and the other Argument inferrs flatly that no other must be received as members in a visible Church but such as first are tryed and found to be really holy, and who shall be saved.

The minor is false.

Its proofe is unsufficient.

We answer therefore to the Minor, that it is evidently false for the Reasons which we brought upon the Minor of the former Argument. The place of the *Acts* brought for the proof of it is detorted; such as were to be saved were added to the Church: is this indefinite proposition to be understood universally, that all who were to be saved were added to the Church? the former Argument maketh this no necessary truth; for if men must be justified, sanctified, and put in the way of salvation before they be added to the Church, then though they were never added to the Church, they may well be saved.

They would doe well here to remember their own ordinary practice, contrary to that which here they professe to be the way of God. Why doe they not adde to their Church all that are to be saved? why exclude thy many whom they grant to be truly gracious and Elect, upon this ground alone that they cannot approve of their *Independency* or Covenant?

Or

Or suppose the proposition to be universall; yet, must it be reciprocall and convertible? Be it so, that all who were to be saved were added to the Church: yet, must all who are added to the Church be saved? this is an evident untruth. Will they, that all the members of their Church be saved? or doe they think that all the persons of their Churches who shall not be saved, were never true members of their visible Church? *Iudas* was made a member of the Apostolick society by Christ, and many men were brought into the visible Church by the Prophets and Apostles, who shall not be saved. Shall damnation and want of true grace cast them all out of the true Church, and take from them their power and right to doe the actions of a Church-member?

His third Argument,

The third Argument. If it be put in any forme, will readily fall under the exceptions of the first; but since the Author puts no forme upon it, I shall only consider its matter. It consists of the misapplication of three Scriptures, first of *Peters* Confession, *Mat.* 8. they alledge that such a profession of Faith as the Father reveales to particular persons, is the ground of a visible Church, and so who ever is a member of that Church, must both professe Faith, and have the Spirit to indite that profession.

Peters Confession much misapplied.

Answer, this is a strange Argument. For first, we may not admit that the Church founded upon the Rock is every particular visible Church? The privileges of the Catholike and visible Church, which the Iesuites by all their wrestlings have never been able to extort from us for their *Idoll* of *Rome*, shall we throw them away upon every *Independent* Congregation? how unstable Rocks these Congregations are, and how easily by small tentations shaken in peeces, themselves may remember.

Secondly, the Rock whereupon the Church is builded, is Christ whom *Peter* did confesse; we may not make any mans profession, were it never so cleere and never so zealous, the foundation of the Church in such a fashion, that the ignorance or hypocrisie of any man may remove the foundation of any Church.

Thirdly, shall no man be a member of a Church, till the holy Ghost dictate unto him such a confession of Faith as he did unto *Peter*? If none but the Elect and those who are filled with the holy Ghost, may be members of Churches, the *Anabaptists* have won the field. However, what here is alledged, is not true of *Peter* himselfe

himselfe who long before that confession was a member of the Church.

The guest without the wedding garment more mis-applied.

The second place mis-applied, is the reproofe of the guest for his comming to the Lords Feast without the wedding-garment; whereupon is inferrd the duty of the Church to hold out all who want the wedding-garment of true grace. *Answ.* This conclusion is not only beside, but against the Text, vers. 9. 10. the servants are commanded to invite as many as they could finde, both good and bad; they had no commission to hold out any for want of the wedding-garment, for that garment was within upon the soule unperceptible by any but his eye who searches the heart and the reynes. The Apostles in their search went not beyond a blamelesse profession; and experience may teach our Brethren, that themselves are able to reach no farther, finding after all their triall so many in their purest Congregations whom time declares to want that garment.

The parable of the Tares is thrown against its principall scope.

The third place misapplied, is the parable of the Tares, as if the Tares came into the Church by the sleepinesse of the servants. *Answ.* This also is a bold addition to Scripture: It is not said, while the servants sleeped; but while men sleeped, noting no negligence in men who did sleep when it was seasonable and necessary for them to sleep; but only the secret and dark time of the night, or the secret, dark, and imperceptible way of Satan his working in hypocrites, and corrupting the Church. However, this part of the parable is no wayes argumentative; for Christ in his full application toucheth not at all upon this circumstance; but the maine scope of the parable declareth to us the nature of the visible Church upon Earth, contrary to the argument in hand, that Christ doth not intend to have upon Earth any Church wherein the tares shal not be mixed with the wheat; for if he did not find in his wisedome the expediency of this administration, he could in his power easily alter or prevent it.

His fourth argument, that all who cannot demonstrate the truth of their regeneration, deny the power of godlinesse, is not true.

Their fourth argument is drawn from the second to *Timothy*, 3. 5. *who have a forme of godlinesse, but deny the power of it, from such we must turne away. Ergo*, who are not found to have positive and satisfactory signes of regeneration, ought not to be admitted members of any Church. *Answer*, The consequent is naught; for the strength of it will lie in this proposition, Every professor

professor who bringeth not demonstrative signes of his regeneration and true grace, is a man who hath the forme of godlinesse and denyeth the power thereof. How false this is, both the Text and our Brethrens practice will evidence. The text puts it out of doubt, that the men whom the Apostle calls the denyers of the power of godlinesse, are persons openly scandalous and flagitious, as the verses both before and after doe demonstrate; even such whom the Apostle describes, *Tit.* 1. abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate. Now it is cleare that many professors who are not able to bring out any convincing signes of their regeneration, are notwithstanding free from all scandall; and however many hypocrites can goe beyond them in making faire and satisfactory shewes to men: yet sundry of them may bee the elect children of God, and really most gracious in his eyes, how unable or unwilling soever they be to make this much appeare to the world.

Secondly, the men whom the Apostle speaks of, are to be cast out of the Church after their admission; but our Brethren will not cast out all of whose regeneration they are not convinced after once they were admitted; for if so, Excommunication in every Church would become too frequent.

Their fifth argument is this; No hypocrite, none who at last will leave their first Love, are to be admitted in the Church; for all such will ruine the Church, and procure the removing of the Candlestick: but all that cannot peove their regeneration convincingly, are such. *Answ.* This is a bold and rash argument laying a necessity to exclude all hypocrites from the Church, and all such as may fall away from any degree of their first love. We answer then that the minor is very false; for many gratious persons farre from hypocrisie, and free from all decay of their first love may be unable to satisfie themselves or others in the certaine truth of their regeneration. But the major is more false, against the practise of Christ and the Apostles, who did alwayes receive divers hypocrites; and our Brethren dare not deny that they doe so also; for their Churches consist not all of reall Saints. However the very Text alledged proveth our Tenet, for Ephesus to Christ, these is a most true Church, notwithstanding their fall from their first Love, and his threatning of them with the removall of their Candlestick if they did not repent.

His fifth, that no hypocrite is to be admitted a member of a Church, is a very rash argument.

Unto-

His sixth, from the roughnesse of the stones of *Solomons* Temple, is a wanton reason

Unto this fifth they subjoyne as appendices, two other arguments taken from the ancient types under the Law. The first, The stones in *Solomons* Temple were not laid rough in the building; *Ergo*, men irregenerate must not be admitted members of a Christian Church. *Answ.* This is a wanton argument; though the Temple might be a type of every Congregation & the stones of the temple, of the members of a particular visible Church; yet that the roughnesse of the stones should be a type of irregeneration, and above all, that the place of hewing these stones should be a type, and that argumentative, to infer that the place of our vocation, regeneration, justification, and sanctification must be without the Church; and that it is necessary we be like a stone perfectly hewen before we be laid in the Church building: this is a kinde of Ratiocination which solid divinity will not admit.

His seventh, from the Porters exclusion of uncleane persons from the Temple, hath no strength.

The other typicall argument is this; The porters excluded uncleane persons from the Temple; therefore the Officers ought to keep the irregenerate from the Church. *Answ.* There is no argumenting from symbolick types, except where the spirit of God in Scripture applies a type to such a signification and use.

Where did our Brethren learne to make the porters of the Temple types of the Church-Officers? Their people will not be content to be cheated of the Keyes by such symbolizing. If they will make the temple a type; not only of Christs body and the Church universall, but of every Congregation; yet by what Scripture will they make legall uncleanesse typifie the estate of irregeneration? And above all, how will they make the exclusion from the temple for legall uncleanesse, a type of rejection from Church membership for irregeneration?

Nothing more common then legall cleanesse in a person irregenerate, and legall uncleanesse in a person regenerate. Legall uncleanesse did never hinder any from Church-membership under the Old Testament, else in for a time it might impede their fellowship in some services; but irregeneration did never hinder communion in any service. It is a question whether very scandalous sins did keep men ceremonially clean from the Temple and Sacrifices; but out of all doubt irregeneration alone was never a bar to keep any from the most holy and most solemn services, whether of the tabernacle or temple.

There

There are two other arguments couched in the conclusion of the debate. First, from the 3. of *Matth.* *Iohn* the Baptist excluded the Scribes and Pharisees and the profane people from his Baptisme, *Ergo*, the officers and body of the people should not admit irregenerate people to bee members of the Church. *Anf.* The consequence is not good from *Iohn* the Baptist to all the officers and body of the people, nor from Baptisme or any Sacrament to Church-membership, nor from the Scribes, Pharisees and prophane people, to every irregenerate person: what looseneſſe is in such reasoning? But the worst is that the antecedent is clearely against the places of Scripture alledged. *Iohn* the Baptist did not exclude either the Scribes or the Pharisees or the common people from his Baptisme, but received all that came, both the Scribes and Pharisees, and Ierusalem, and all Iudea, and all the region about Iordan, requiring no other condition for their admission to his Sacrament then the confession of sinne and promising of new obedience, acts very feasable to irregenerate people.

His eigth, that *Iohn* the Baptist excluded the Pharises and people from his Baptisme, is expreſly against the Text.

His last argument is from *Acts.8.* *Philip* admitted none to his baptisme but upon profession of Faith. *Ergo*, none should be admitted members of a Church without an evidence of their regeneration. For shortneſſe I mark but one sault in the consequence, yet a very grosse one. That profession of faith is made a certain argument of true grace and sanctification. Will any of our Brethren bee content to admit their members upon so slender termes as *Philip* or any of the Apostles did require of their new converts? Will the profession that Iesus is the Christ, or such a confession of faith as *Simon Magus* and all the people of *Samaria* men and women, after a little labour of *Philip* among them, could make, be an evident and convincing signe of regeneration?

His ninth, that *Philip* required the Eunuchs confeſſion before baptisme, infers not the conclusion.

Thus we have considered all Mr. *Cottons* arguments: let any man according to his conscience, pronounce what strength hee findes in in any of them; whether or not in them all together there bee such firmeneſſe as to sustaine the unspeakable weight that is in the conclusion builded upon them; I mean a neceſſity of separation from all the Reformed Churches except these of the Independent way: I may adde, from them also and all else that ever have beene in the world from the beginning to this houre; for in none of them these hard conditions of satisfactory evidences of regeneration before persons can bee admitted members, were ever so much as required;

All his nine or twelve reasons put in one will be too weak to beare up the weight of his most heavy conclusion.

and among the *Independents* where these conditions have been required, they were never found, nor possibly can bee found as they doe require them.

CHAP. VIII.

Concerning the right of Prophesying.

The state of the question.

THe second question I propounded, concerneth the dogmatick power, so to call it, of their Church-members. They teach that the power of prophesie or publike preaching both within and without the Congregation, belongeth to every man in their Church who hath abilitie to speake in publike to edification. The Reformed Churches give this power onely to Pastors and Doctors who are called by God and the Church to labour in the Word. They doe not deny to every Christian all true liberty in private as God gives them occasion, in an orderly way to edifie one another, nor doe they deny to the sons of the Prophets who are fitting themselves for the pastorall charge, to exercise their gifts in publike for their preparation and triall; but publike preaching they do not permit to any who are not either actually in the Ministry or in the way unto it.

The first authors of this question.

The *Socinians* and *Arminians*, the better to advance their design of everting the publike Ministry, doe put it in the hand of any able man to preach the Word and celebrate the Sacraments. The *Brownists* upon the mistake of some Scriptures, give liberty to any of their members whom their Church thinks able to preach.

The *Independents* difference among themselves here anent.

Mr. *Cotton* and his Brethren in *New-England*, did follow for a long time the *Brownists* in this practise; yet of late feeling as is would seam, the great inconveniency of this liberty of propheseying, they are either gone or going from it; for in their two last bookes, The way of their Churches, and the Keys, they not only passe this popular propheseying in silence, but also doe evert the chiefe grounds whereupon before they did build it; our Brethren here of *Holland* and *London*, seem not yet to be accorded about it; those of *Arnheim* did to the last day of their Churches standing maintaine it; their gentlemen preaching ordinarily in the absence of their Ministers; but at *Rotterdam*, Mr. *Bridge* would never permit it; yet Mr *Simpson* thought it be so necessary an ordinance, that the neglect of it was

the

the cheife cause of his secession from Mr. *Bridge*, and erecting a new Church; neither ever could these two Churches bee united till after both Mr. *Bridges* and Mr. *Simpsons* removall; their successor did find a temper in this question, permitting the exercise of prophesie, not in the meeting place of the Congregation, but in a private place on a week day; our Brethren at *London* are for this exercise not only upon the former grounds, but especially to hold a doore open for themselves to preach in the Parish-Churches where they neither are nor ever intend to bee Pastors, only they preach as gifted men and Prophets, for the conversion of these who are to be made members of their new Congregation.

The reasons we bring for our tener, are these. First, Who ever have power to preach the word ordinarily, have also power to baptise. But only Ministers have power to baptise; *Ergo*, only Ministers have power to preach the Word ordinarily. The Minor how ever the *Arminians* and some few of the late *Brownists* deny, yet all the *Independents* grant it; but they deny the Major which we prove by two Scripturall reasons; first, Christ conjoyns the power of baptism with the power of preaching; *Ergo*, who have the power of preaching, have also the power of baptising, which Christ hath annexed to it, *Matt.* 28. 19. *Go and teach all Nations, baptising them.* Their Reply that Christ speaks here of Apostles and not of ordinary Ministers, is not satisfactory; for he speaks both of Apostles and ordinary Ministers, because of such officers who were to remain in the Church unto the end of the world, and with whose Ministry he was alwaies & ever to be present as it followeth in vers. 20. But the Church from that time to the worlds end was not to be served by Apostles only, who soon after were removed, but by ordinary Pastors also, the Apostles Successors. Moreover, there is no reason for the connexion of baptisme and Preaching in the person of the Apostles that will not hold as well if not better in the person of ordinary Ministers. Our other proofe of the Major, is this. The power of preaching is more then the power of baptisme; *Ergo*, who have the first, have the second also. The antecedent is manifest from 1. *Cor.* 1. 17. *Christ sent not to baptise but to preach*; to intimate the excellency of the one above the other; the Apostle declares not onely his seldome practice of the one, but denieth his commission for it in comparison of the other.

That none but Ministers may ordinarily prophecy, wee prove it first by Christs joyning together the power of baptism and the power of preaching.

Secondly, these that preach, must be sent to that work.

The second argument; who ever have power to preach are sent of

God to preach. But, these who have no office in the Church are not sent of God to preach, *Ergo*: They that have no office in the Church have no power to preach. The major is grounded on *Rom.* 10. 15. *How shall they preach except they be sent?* The minor may be proved, not onely from the nature of the thing, the calling of God to preach, and a mans ordinary preaching of Gods call importing an office and charge to such a work: but also from the place in hand compared with its fountain, whence it is derived *Isa.* 52. 8. *Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice*, where it is cleare that these whom the Lord sends to preach are watchmen, from whose hand the blood of them that die without warning will be required. *Ezec.* 33. 6. *Woe watch for the peoples soules as they who must give an account. Heb.* 12. 17. Which is not true of any man who hath no charge.

Thirdly, every ordinary preacher labours in the Word and Doctrine.

Every ordinary preacher labours in the word and doctrine; no man out of office labours in the word and doctrine; for labouring in the word and doctrine, is the character & specifick difference of the pastor and doctor, whereby they are distinguished from the ruling Elder, *1 Tim.* 5. 17. This character and form of the prime officers cannot be given to men out of all office. The major is proved from the very termes of the proposition, for no man can acquire an ability to preach ordinarily the Word in the Congregation and to exercise that gift for the Churches edification without great and constant labouring in that Word.

Fourthly, none out of Office have the gift of preaching; for all who have that gift are either Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, or Doctors, and all these are officers.

Fourthly, Every preacher of the Word hath gotten a gift from Christ for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; but no man out of office hath gotten such a gift; *Ergo*. The major they do not deny, for they make the ground of their prophets preaching to be their gift to edifie the Church. The minor thus we prove; Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, pastors & doctors, are not out of office. But, all who have received such gifts, are Apostles, &c. *Ergo*, none who have received such gifts are out of office. The major none will deny; the minor is grounded on *Ephes.* 4. 8. & 11. where there is a perfect enumeration of all the teaching gifts which Christ gave to the Church for edification; of these are reckoned up only five, Apostles, &c. and to Gods perfect numbers men may not adde.

Fifthly, noman out of office might sacrifice.

Fifthly, It was unlawfull for men out of office to sacrifice, *Ergo*, is is unlawfull for men out of office to preach. The consequence lieth in the parity of preaching to sacrificing, the one being as great an honour

honour if not a greater then the other; for I suppose it will be granted that the Sacraments of the New Testament are in many respects more excellent then the Sacrifices of the Old. Now preaching as we have proved before, is more excellent then baptisme, a Sacrament of the New Testament. The antecedent is proved from *Heb. chap.* 5. *v.* 3, 4, 5. *No man taketh this honour to himself, viz.* to offer up Sacrifices, *but he that is called of God as was* Aaron; *so also Christ glorified not himself to be made an High Priest*; Here it is made unlawfull both for *Aaron* and Christ to offer up Sacrifices before they had a calling to be Priests.

Sixthly, Whoever have gotten of God a calling or a gift to preach the Gospel, they are obliged to keep and increase their gift, and to improve that calling by giving themselves wholy to reading, by laying aside all worldly occupations, and not intangling themselves with the things of this life; but no man out of office is thus obliged, *Ergo*. The minor they grant, for they will not have their Prophets so much as to bee so much in reading as may distract them from their worldly Trade and civill occupation: The major is proved from 1. *Tim.* 4. 13, 14, 15. where *Timothy* is commanded to keep his gift of preaching by the meanes named. The reason is alike to all that have that gift, whether they have it by Prophesie, and laying on of the hands of the *Presbytery* as *Timothy* had it, or any otherwayes: for the gifts of God however gotten, must not bee neglected, and the meanes prescribed of God for the entertaining of these gifts may not bee slighted, least of all by them in whom the gift is but mean and small; they of all others have most need of the strongest meanes to make their smoking flax to burn: beside, publik preaching is a faculty of that nature, that all the reading and attendance which any man can bestow upon it, will have enough ado to support and entertaine it in any usefull and edifying condition.

Sixthly, all who have from God the gift of preaching are obliged to lay aside all other occupations and attend that work alone.

Seventhly, None may lawfully preach but such as the Apostles appointed to preach. But, the Apostles appointed no man out of office to preach. The minor alone is questionable; which thus we prove. The Apostles appointed no others to preach but Elders; *Ergo*, none out of office. The antecedent wee have from *Titus* 1. 5. *That thou shouldest ordaine Elders in every City as I had appointed thee.*

Seventhly, the Apostles appointed none to preach but Elders.

Eighthly, the permitting of private men out of office to preach, is a great meanes of confusion in the Church and breeding of errors and strife; *Ergo*, its not of God. The antecedent is made too cleare by

Eighthly, the preaching of men out of office is a means of confusion and errour.

by daily experience; the consequence is builded upon the nature of God who is a God and Author of truth and order; what is from him, is conduceable to these ends, not to the contrary.

The contrary Arguments which Mr *Cotton* in his Catechism and Answer to the 32 Questions, borrows from *Robinson*, are; First, in the Church of Corinth men out of office did Propesie; And these men were Officers; or their preaching was extraordinary.

The opposite Arguments are many; *Robinson* while yet he was, as I suppose, in the height of his Separation, did fill a whole book with them; the best of these Arguments whereupon our Brethren are pleased to pitch, be these following. First, in the Church of *Corinth*, men out of office did ordinarily preach in the Congregation; *Ergo*, it is lawfull to doe so still. *Answ.* We may either deny, or distinguish the antecedent: They that preached in the place alledged, were Prophets, and so not out of office. Secondly, they who preached there, were men endued with extraordinary gifts, whose practice can bee no patterne to the Churches now a dayes, where these gifts are ceased. That it is so, vers. 30. makes cleare, where the Prophets doe preach extemporary Revelations.

Also Mr. *Cotton* himselfe in his last book of the Keys, p. 20. doth grant this, and expressly recals what himselfe in his Catechisme, and both he and his Brethren in their Answer to the 32. Articles, had delivered about propheslying. This ingenuity is amiable, and if it might please God to bring our Brethren off the other points of *Brownisme* as fairely, there might be hope quickly of an happy Accommodation.

Secondly, *Jehoshaphat* and his Princes did preach; Answ. The Kings exhorting of the Levites to doe their duty, and the Princes countenancing of them therein, was not properly preaching.

Their second Argument, *Iehoshaphat* and his Princes did preach the word. But *Iehoshaphat* and his Princes were not Church-officers; *Ergo*, some who are no Church-officers, may preach the Word. *Answ.* We deny the major; for that which is recorded of *Iehoshaphat*, *Chron.* 2. 19. was nothing but the Kings exhortation to his subjects, to stir up the Levites and Judges to a faithfull discharge of their office; this was no exposition of the Law, nor any dispensing of that knowledge which the Priests lips were appointed by God to preserve; What is spoken of his Princes preaching, *Chron.* 2. 17. 6. beside that it was but once in the time of an extraordinary Reformation, the way of that teaching is expounded in the following words not to have been by themselves, but by the Levites who carried the Booke of the Law, they onely did preach; the Princes accompanied them, and by their Civill authority countenanced and assisted them in their preaching. That thus it was, Mr. *Cotton* confesseth in the above-mentioned place of his *Keys*, avowing that in the Church of *Israel* none did preach either in the Synagogue

or

or Temple, but Priests and Levites, except they had an extraordinary call to Prophesie.

Thirdly, What we are commanded to regard is lawfull. But, the preaching of men out of office wee are commanded to regard, 1. *Thes.* 5. *Despise not prophecying. Answ.* We deny the proofe of the minor; for the prophecying spoken of by the Apostle is not the preaching of men out of office, but either of such extraordinary Prophets as were in the Church of the *Corinthians* and other Churches in those primitive times, or else of ordinary pastors who oft in Scripture are called prophets, *Matth.* 11. 9. *He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, shall receive a Prophets reward; a Prophet is not without honour but in his owne Country.* A Pagan poet by the Apostle is called a Prophet, *Rev.* 18. 4. *In her was found the blood of the Prophets and Saints*; and 22. 9. *I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the Prophets.*

Thirdly, wee must not despise prophecy; *Answ.* The Apostle speaks of the Preaching of men in Office.

Fourthly, our Brethren of *New-England* bring no more arguments. The rest of *Robinsons* stuffe is not so considerable: hee reasoneth thus; The sons of the Prophets did preach, 1. *Sam.* 15. 5. 2. *King.* 2. 7. also 4. 1. But the sons of the Prophets were men out of office. *Answ.* The major is not proved by the places alledged; for the first speaks of the Prophets, but not of their sons; the other two speak of the sons of the Prophets, but nothing of their preaching: yet wee doe not deny the major; for wee thinke it may bee proved from other Scriptures; but we deny the minor, That the sons of the Prophets were men altogether out of office; for their call from God, and appointment by the Prophets to wait on that service, did give them such a beginning and entrance into the office of a Prophet, that made them capable of an initiall exercise of their begun gifts: so wee deny not in the New Testament, to men who are destinate to the Ministry and in their preparations for it, a power to preach for attaining an habit of that gift, whereunto initiall Sermons are a necessary meane, without which neither the gift nor the calling can be obtained without a miracle.

Fourthly, the sons of the Prophets did preach. *Answ.* their designation to be prophets gave them right to initiall and preparatory exercises towards that Office.

Fifthly, *Robinson* reasons thus; All those whom we ought to wish to be Prophets, may lawfully preach. But, we ought to wish all the people of God to be Prophets, *Num.* 11. 29. *Would God that all the people of the Lord were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them. Answ.* We deny the major, because our desire for the enlargement of Gods honour and the propagation of his truth, that many

Fifthly, *Moses* wished all the people to bee Prophets. *Answ.* But not without Gods calling to that office.

many more then are, were sent out to preach and baptize, giveth not to any man either a gift, or a power, or a calling to preach and baptize, till God and man give the calling. *Moses* wish was, not that all the people should prophecy, but that all might have the office of Prophets and the spirit of God to enable them for prophesying.

Sixthly, the Apostles before the Resurrection did preach. *Anſ.* At that time they were true Apostles and did baptise.

Sixthly, the Apostles before Christs resurrection did preach. But, the Apostles before Christs resurrection were not in the office of Apostleship. *Answ.* The minor must carry, that they were men out of all Church office, which is evidently false; for beside that *Mat.* 10. 1. they are called expresly Apostles at their first mission; and *Iudas*, *Acts* 1. 25. is said to have had the ministry and the Apostleship; they did celebrate the Sacrament of Baptisme, which the adversary will grant could not lawfully be done by men out of office.

Seventhly, *Paul* and *Barnabas* were invited to preach where they were in no office, and by those who did not know them to be in office anywhere, *Acts* 13. 15. *Men and Brethren if ye have any word of exhortation for the Brethren, say on*; *Ergo*, men out of office may lawfully preach. *Answ.* The antecedent is false; for *Paul* and *Barnabas* were men in office, true Prophets and Apostles; their bounds were as large as all Nations. Beside a pastor in one Church, for the relation bee hath to the Church universall, upon a lawfull call may preach in any Church. Also that the rulers of the Synagogue did not take *Paul* and *Barnabas* for preachers, is as easily denied as affirmed: the fame both of their preaching and miracles might easily have come before or with them from *Cyprus* into *Pysidia*.

Seventhly, *Paul* and *Barnabas* were invited to exhort. *Anſ.* They were men in office.

Lastly, the Scribes and Pharisees did expound and preach the law; but the Scribes and Pharisees were in no Church office; for all the offices of the Church under the Old Testament, were in the hands of Levites alone: now the Scribes and Pharisees were not Levites, but of other tribes. *Answ.* The minor is false; for the Lord tels us that the Scribes and Pharisees were in Church office, that they sate in *Moses* chaire, and were Doctors of the Law. The confirmation is not good; for how will they prove that in these times of great confusion, the Levites alone had all Ecclesiastick offices, not only in the Temple about the Sacrifices, but in the Synagogue about the doctrine and discipline? Also though this were yeelded, yet how will they prove that the Scribes and Pharisees were of any other Tribe then of *Levi*?

Eighthly, the Scribes and Pharisees did preach. *Answer* they were officers and sate in *Moses* chaire.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

Whether the power of Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction belongs to the People or to the Presbytery.

What is meant by Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction.

The ſtate of the Queſtion wont to be cleare, the Reformed Churches putting the power and exerciſe of Juriſdiction in the hand of the *Presbytery* alone; the *Brownists & Independents* in the hand of the people onely: but Mr. *Cotton* & his followers the other yeer have perplexed the Queſtion with their many Schoole-diſtinctions.

THe next Queſtion concernes the power of Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction to whom it may be due: by Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction is underſtood the admiſſion of Members into a Church, their caſting out againe by Excommunication, their reconciliation after repentance, the Ordination of Officers, their Depoſition from their charge, the determining of Queſtions, the deciding of Controverſies and ſuch other acts of Eccleſiaſtick authority.

Till of late the ſtate of the Queſtion here was very cleare and plaine: the Reformed Churches doe put both the power and the exerciſe of Juriſdiction into the hand of the Presbytery, that is, the company of Elders, and Colledge of Church Governors. The *Brownists*, and after them the *Independents*, did aſcribe all theſe acts to the Church, as well without, as with a Presbytery: but of late Maſter *Cotton* in his Booke of the Keyes, and his Brethren in their Synodick meetings of *New-England* have ſo ſubtilized, and as to me it ſeemes, involved the Queſtion with a multitude of new diſtinctions, that it is very hard to apprehend with any certainty and cleareneſſe their meaning, and more hard to reconcile any one with himſelfe, much leſſe one with another.

They would ſeeme to differ much from the *Brownists*, they ſtand not to put them in the Category of *Morellius*, the firſt Patron of Democracie and popular government in the Church: they profeſſe a mid-way of government, well ballanced with a prudent mixture of the Officers power with the peoples, giving a part to both, and all to neither: They bring a multitude of diſtinctions rather to eſchew the dint of our former arguments in the darkeneſſe of theſe Thickets, then to give any light to this very great Queſtion. They inſiſt moſt on two diſtinctions, whereby they thinke to anſwer all we bring againſt them.

If they put the power of Juriſdiction onely in a Church organized and Presbyterated, they fall from much of the *Brownists*, and their own, both doctrine and practiſe.

First, they diſtinguiſh betwixt a Church Organized or Presbyterated, as they ſpeake, and a Church inorganized and unpresbyterated, the one is a body *Heterogeneous*, a covenanted people with their Officers framed in a Presbytery; the other a body

Homogeneous, a people in a Church Covenant without Officers, at leaſt without a Presbytery. They would ſeeme to plead, or elſe the diſtinction is for no purpoſe, for the power onely of an Organized and a Presbyterated Church. If they would ſtand to this in earneſt and firmely, we ſhould be glad; for ſo they ſhould openly deſert, not onely the whole race of the *Brownists*, but all their owne former Writings, practiſes, and enervate the beſt of theſe very arguments they ſtill adhere unto: for if you will conſider what is written by Mr. *Cotton* either in his Catechiſme, or way, or anſwer to the thirty two Queſtions, or the Arguments that ſtill he inſiſts upon in the Keyes, or their generall practiſe in *Holland* and *New-England* to this day, you will ſee that they maintaine the Juriſdiction of a Church, as well unpresbyterated, without a Presbytery, without Officers, as of a Church Presbyterated; for the power of Ordination of Officers, and of their depoſition, the power of admitting and caſting out of Members, which are the higheſt acts of Juriſdiction, they aſcribe expreſſely to every Church, whether it have, or want Officers, as its proper and undeniable priviledge.

Their laſt and beſt beloved invention of the power of Authority, and power of Liberty, is for no purpoſe but to involve the Authors in new difficulties.

Their other new diſtinction, wherein openly they applaud ſo much one another, as it were contending who ſhould have the glory of its invention, is of a double power, one of Authority, and another of Liberty: aſcribing unto a Presbyterated Church the whole power of Juriſdiction and every part of it, both to the Officers of their Presbytery, and to the people in their fraternity or brotherhood; but, ſo that the intereſt of the Officers in every act, is a power of authority which makes that their action only is valid and binding; but the intreſt of the people is a power of liberty to concurre in theſe acts of Juriſdiction by an obedientiall, yet a neceſſary and authoritative concurrence.

This new diſtinction will not ſerve their turne, for firſt, its not applicable to the chiefe acts of Juriſdiction in queſtion: their Ordination of Officers, their admiſſion of Members are done ordinarily by their people alone, without the concurrence of any Officers, who then are not in being. Secondly, their arguments for the peoples intereſt in Excommunication, Abſolution, and other acts of Juriſdiction, inferre either nothing at all, or much more then that which they call a power of Liberty, or of an authoritative

ritative concurrence. Thirdly, this distinction involves the Authors in new unextricable difficulties, it makes the Keyes & Sword of Christ altogether unserviceable in common and ordinary cases, wherein they have most neede and occasion to be set on worke.

Not onely according to their former principles, they make every Congregation uncensurable for any possible crime: But by this new Doctrine, they confesse, that every Presbytery in a Congregation becomes uncensurable, and that every people of a Congregation becommeth uncapable of any censure. Yea further, if the most part of the Presbytery, suppose two ruling Elders joyne together in the greatest heresies and crimes, the whole people with the rest of the Presbytery, suppose the Pastor cannot censure these two Elders; also if the greatest part of the people should joyne in the greatest wickednesse, yet the whole Presbytery, with the rest of the people that remaine sincere and gracious, cannot censure the wicked. In all these, and divers such ordinary cases, they have no remedy but Separation, and alwayes Separation upon Separation, till their Church be dissolved into so small portions that it cannot by more Separations be further devided. But let us consider the Arguments upon both sides.

As they wont to make their smalleſt Congregattions *Independent* & unſenſurable for any crime, ſo now by this diſtinction they divide all their Congregations in two parts, and make every one of theſe parts *Independent* alſo, and unſenſurable for any imaginable ſinne: For the negative, that the people have no power of Juriſdiction, we reaſon: Firſt, the Officers alone are Governors, and the people are to be governed.

First, we reason thus, The people are not the Governors of the Church. But the acts of Eccleſiaſticke Juriſdiction belong to the Governors of the Church; *Ergo*, The acts of Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction belong not to the people. The *Minor* is cleare from the nature of the very termes; for Juriſdiction is either all one with Government, or a chiefe part of it: now Government is eſſentially relative to Governors. The *Maior* is proved by many Scriptures, which make the people ſo farre from being Governours, that they are obliged to be ſubject and obedient to their Officers, as to them by whom God will have them governed, *Heb.* 13.17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, for they watch for your ſoules as they who muſt give an account.* 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Let the Elders who rule well, be counted worthy of double honour.* 1 *Theſ.* 5. 12. *Know them which are over you in the Lord, and eſteeme them very highly in love for their workes ſake.* God hath made them Paſtors, and the people their flocke: them Builders, the people the ſtones laid by them in the building; them Fathers, the people children begotten by their Miniſtry: them Stewards, the people domeſticks under their conduct.

2. The people have not the Keyes of Heaven to binde and looſe.

Secondly, whoſoever hath the power of Eccleſiaſtick Juriſdiction, to them the Lord hath given the Keyes of Heaven for the remitting and retaining of ſinnes. But to none of the people the Lord hath given theſe Keyes. *Ergo.* The *Major* is not controverted. The *Minor* is thus proved. To whom Chriſt hath given the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven to retaine and remit ſinnes, they are in ſome Eccleſiaſticke Office, They are ſent out by Chriſt, as Chriſt was by his Father, they have ſome part of the Apoſtles ordinary charge; but theſe things are not true of the people. *Ergo,* The *Major* is proved, *Joh.*20.21. *As my Father hath ſent me, ſo ſend I you: and when he had ſaid this, he breathed upon them, and ſayd receive yee the Holy Ghoſt: whoſe ſinnes yee remitte they are remitted, and whoſe ſinnes yee retaine they are retained.* What was promiſed to *Peter*, *Mat.*16.19. is here performed to him and the reſt of the Apoſtles, and to their Succeſſours in their ordinary Office of Elders: for this was a power neceſſary for the Church to the end of the world. The *Minor* alſo is cleare: for theſe things were not given to all the Diſciples, but to the twelve, and to their Succeſſours. What was promiſed to *Peter*, was not promiſed to every faithfull perſon, and to every Orthodox Confeſſour: for ſo, all and every one ſhould be bearers of the Keys, and Eccleſiaſtick Officers, which is againſt the Scriptures of the firſt Argument.

3. The people are not the eyes and eares in Chriſts body; for ſo, all the body ſhould be eyes and eares.

Thirdly, to whom theſe acts of Juriſdiction doe belong, they are the eyes, eares, hands, and principall Members of the Body of Chriſt; for the eminent perſons and Officers of a Church, are compared to theſe Members, becauſe of theſe actions. But the people are not the eyes, eares, hands; are not the principall Members of the Body of Chriſt; for if ſo, there ſhould be none left in the Church to be the feet, or leſſe principall Members: all ſhould become eyes, and hands, and the Church ſhould be made a Body *Homogeneous*, contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtle, 1. *Cor.* 12. 19. *If they were all one Member, where were the Body? but now are they many Members, and the eye cannot ſay to the hand I have no neede of thee, nor the head to the feete I have no need of you.*

4. The people have not any promiſe of gifts ſufficient for government.

Fourthly, Who have a right from God to the acts of Juriſdiction, they have a promiſe of gifts needfull for the performance of theſe acts. For a divine right and calling to any worke is backed with

with a promise of Gods presence, gifts and assistance in doing of that worke; but, the people have no promise of any such gifts. For besides that daily experience declares numbers among the people to be altogether destitute of such knowledge, wisedome and other gifts which are necessary for the performance of these acts of Jurisdiction: The Apostle himselfe teaches that such gifts are not given to all, but to some onely.

Fifthly, That is not to be given to the people that brings confusion into the Church, for the Lord *is the God of Order*. But the putting of the power of Jurisdiction in the peoples hand, brings confusion into the Church, for it makes the feete above the head, it puts the greatest power into the hand of the meanest, it gives power to the Flocke to depose and excommunicate their Pastour. Our Brethren were lately wont to digest with the *Brownists* these absurdities: but now they beginne to dislike them, and rather then to stand to their Prior Tenets, they will limit the Minor, asserting that the power of Jurisdiction belongs to the people not severally, but joyntly with their Officers: so that neither they can excommunicate their Officers, nor their Officers can excommunicate them.

5. The popular government bringeth in confusion making the feet above the head.

But it seemes this new Subtilty will not long please the Inventors of it; for as we have said it makes the Keyes of Heaven much more inserviceable for opening and closing then needs must; when it hath taken the keyes out of the hand of all others, and put them in the little weake fist of a particular Congregation; it will not permit them to open or to close the doore, neither to the people, nor yet to the Eldership. The Eldership cannot remit, nor retaine the sinnes of the Brotherhood, nor the Brotherhood, of the Eldership: yea none of the Eldership can be censured by all the people, without the consentient vote of the Presbytery, nor any of the people can either be bound or loosed without the consentient vote of the people. In these cases which may be very frequent, The Keyes of Christ must be laide aside, and a new key of the *Independents* owne invention, their sentence of Non-Communion, or that much beloved and a little elder key of separation, forged by the *Brownists*, must come in the place thereof, to be used against any or all other Churches, against their owne Church or its Eldership, or its Brotherhood, or any Member of either.

6. The people have not the power of Ordination.

Our ſixth argument concernes Ordination, a ſpeciall act of Juriſdiction, which all the Independents to this day put in the hands of the people alone, when ever a new Congregation is to be erected: which to them is no extraordinary nor rare caſe: or when in a Congregation already erected, there is no Presbytery, which among them is frequent. For a Presbytery muſt conſiſt of more Governours then one, and uſually their Presbyteries exceede not the number of three or foure. At the death of their Miniſter, ſuppoſe one of their two ruling Elders be ſicke, or abſent, or the two differ betweene themſelves: in this caſe they make no difficulty to cauſe ſome of the people out of all office to ordaine a new choſen Paſtor; Againſt this very ordinary practiſe we reaſon.

They have no Commiſſion to ſend Paſtors to themſelves, to impoſe hands, to examine their Paſtours, to praypublickly and exhort.

Unto whom the power of Ordination doth belong, they have a Commiſſion from God authoritatively to ſend Paſtors for preaching and celebration of the Sacraments, alſo to lay hands upon them for that effect; But people have no ſuch Commiſſion. *Ergo.* The *Maior*, is the nature of Ordination; for the eſſence and inward forme of it is the authoritative ſending named: the outward Forme and Signe uſed in Scripture, is impoſition of hands. The *Minor* is proved from three grounds: firſt, that the people however they elect, yet they doe not ſend; for ſo they ſhould ſend to themſelves. The Senders and they to whom the Preachers are ſent, ſhould be one and the ſame. Secondly, an authoritative miſſion imports a Superiority in the Sender above the Sent. But, the Paſtors are over the People, not under them. Thirdly, the examples of the New Teſtament make it evident, that the authoritative ſending, and impoſition of hands, the ſigne thereof, were never uſed by any of the people, but by the Elders onely. 1 *Tim.* 4.14. *With the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery*: 1 *Tim.* 5.22. *Lay hands ſuddenly upon no man.* 2 *Tim.* 1.6. *Stirre up the gift of God that is in thee by the putting on of my hands.* So it was not onely at the firſt ſending of men to preach, but in *poſterior* miſſions to any particular Service of the Miniſtery. *Acts.* 13.1. *There was in the Church certaine Prophets and Teachers, and the Holy Ghoſt ſayd, Separate me Barnabas and Saul to the worke whereunto I have called them; and when they had faſted and prayed, and layd their hands on them, they ſent them away.* Fourthly, None of the people ordinarily have the gifts requiſite for this action, as skill to examine the Miniſter,

niſter in all things he muſt be tried in, a gift of publicke prayer, a faculty to inſtruct and exhort the Paſtour and people to mutuall duties.

Seventhly, That power belongeth not to the people which diſableth them both in their Chriſtian and Civill duties. But the power of Eccleſiaſticke Juriſdiction doth ſo. The *Maior* is grounded on the nature of all power and all gifts which God doth give; for all are for edification, and none for the hurt of theſe to whom they are given. The *Minor* may be demonſtrated by this, That it lays a neceſſity upon all the people to attend in the Sabbath day upon the exerciſe of diſcipline, which by the very length will make the Sabbath-Service inſupportably burdenſome: and alſo will fill the mindes of the people with theſe purpoſes which naturally occurre in the agitation of Eccleſiaſticke cauſes, and cannot but caſt out of common weake mindes much of the fruit of the preceding worſhip. 7. This power in the people would diſable them in their callings.

Further, the peoples neceſſary attendance on all Eccleſiaſticke cauſes, will make the proceſſe in the moſt cauſes ſo prolix, as cannot but robbe the people of that time, which they ought to imploy in their ſecular callings for getting of bread. For every one of the people being a Judge, muſt be ſo ſatisfyed in every circumſtance of every action, as to give their Suffrage upon certaine knowledge and with a good conſcience; now before this can be done in a few cauſes of the ſmalleſt and beſt ordered Congregations, much time will be ſpent: as the Church of *Arneim* found it in one cauſe alone, though but a light one; and betwixt two onely, even of their chiefe and beſt Members.

Eightly, That power is not to be given to the people, which brings in the popular government of *Morellius* into the Church: but, the power in queſtion doth ſo. The *Major* is the common aſſertion of all the Brethren, and they are farre from democracy, and further from *Morellius* anarchy, and that they are ready to forſake their Tenet, if it can be demonſtrated to import any ſuch thing. The *Minor* thus we prove, That which puts the higheſt acts of Government in the hands of the multitude brings in the popular government: for in the greateſt democracies that are or ever have beene, there were divers acts of great power in the hand of ſundry Magiſtrates; but the higeſt acts of power 8. This power of the people would bring in *Morellius* democracy and anarchy in the Church.

power being in the hands of the people alone: ſuch as the making of Lawes, the creation of Magiſtrates, the cenſure of the greateſt offendors, theſe were the ſure ſignes of Supremacy, that gave the denomination to the government. Now we aſſume that the Tenet in hand puts the higheſt acts of Eccleſiaſtick Authority in the hands of the people. For the Ordination and Depoſition of Officers, the binding and looſing of Offendors are incomparably the higheſt acts of Eccleſiaſticke Juriſdiction: Theſe they put in the hand of the people.

That they doe conjoyne with the people the Officers to expound the Law, and declare what is right, and to give out the ſentence, makes nothing againſt the peoples Supremacy: for in *Rome* and *Athens* at their moſt Democraticke times, and this day in the States of *Holland*, in all the Provinces and every City, where the people are undoubted Soveraignes, they have their Magiſtrates and Officers in all their proceedings to goe before them, to declare the caſe, to take the Suffrages, and to pronounce the Sentence.

As for them who of late have begun to put the whole Authority in the Officers alone, and to give the people onely a liberty of conſenting to what the Officers doe decree of their owne Authority, we ſay they are but few that doe ſo, and theſe contradictory to themſelves. Alſo theſe ſame men give abſolute Authority to the people in divers caſes: further, that liberty of conſent, they come to call an authoritative concurrence. Laſtly, the moſt of the Arguments even of theſe men, do conclude not onely a liberty to conſent, and to concurre, but an authoritative agency in the higheſt of acts of Juriſdiction.

9. This power of the people will draw upon them the power of the Word and Sacraments

Ninthly, They who have the power of Juriſdiction, have alſo the power of Preaching the Word, and celebrating the Sacraments, unleſſe God in his Word have given them a particular and expreſſe exemption from that employment. But none of the people have power to Preach the Word, and celebrate the Sacraments. *Ergo.* The *Major* is built on theſe Scriptures which conjoyne the adminiſtration of the Word, Sacrament and Diſcipline in one and the ſame termes: and upon theſe Scriptures which lay a part of theſe adminiſtrations upon ſome men, with an expreſſe exception of another part of them. *Matth.* 16. 19.

under

under the name of the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, is comprehended the whole Ecclesiasticke power of the Word, Sacraments, and Discipline; what there is promised, *Joh.* 20. it is performed in these termes, *as the Father hath sent me, so I send you.* But, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. where this power is separated and distinguished, the one part of Jurisdiction is ascribed to the ruling Elders, with an expresse intimation of their freedome from preaching the Word, and by consequence from celebration of the Sacraments. The *Minor* was that none of the people have power of the word and Sacraments. For the power of the Sacraments, it is confessed not to belong to the people. That the power of preaching the Word, belongeth no more to them, was proved in the former Chapter. None of our Brethren doe ascribe the power of preaching to all the people, but onely to a few of them who are able to prophesie: so the power of Jurisdiction according to the ground in hand, could be ascribed to none of the people but these few Prophets alone.

Mr. *Cotton's* contrary arguments answered.

For the other side, the Separatists and Master *Parker*, in this point as farre wrong as the other, bring many arguments: but I will meddle onely with these which Master *Cotton* doth borrow from them in his way of the Churches, and answer to the 32 Questions.

First, from *Matth.* 16. 19. he reasons thus. The power of the Keys is given unto *Peter* upon the confession of his faith. *Ergo* every Beleever hath the power of the Keys. *Answ.* I deny the consequence; for however upon the occasion of his confession the Keyes are promised to him: yet they are not promised to him because of his confessing, nor under the relation of a beleever; for if so, then all and onely beleevers should have the full power of the Keyes; but our Brethren will be loth to avow this direct Assertion of *Smith* the *Sebaptist*; for they do not ascribe the Power of the Sacraments to any beleever out of Office, nor any power of the Keys to every beleever: for some beleevers are not Members of any Church, and the Keys are onely for Domesticks. Neither doe they put the Keys into the hands of beleevers alone; for so *Judas* and many Pastors for want of true faith could not validly either preach or baptize. The Keys therefore are not promised to *Peter* under the notion of a beleever, but in the quality

First, Christ gave to *Peter* the Keyes of Heaven as to a beleever.

Answ. Not so, but as to an Apostle and Elder of the Church.

of an Apostle and Elder of the Church, as is cleared in the paralled places of *Matth.* & *John*, where the gift here promised is actually conferred upon all the Apostles, who all were Elders, and whose Office of opening and closing the doores of Heaven, was to remaine in the Church to the worlds end, not in the hand of every beleever, but of the Governours of the Church joyned in that Presbytery which other Scriptures doe mention.

2. Till the Church replies that the people have power of Excommunication.
Answ. The Church here to be told is the Presbytery, and not the people, according to our Brethrens own ground.

Secondly, they reason from *Mat.* 18. Who ever is the Church to whom scandals must be told, and which must be heard, under the paine of Excommunication, they have the power of Church Censures; But the people are that Church. *Ergo, Assu.* we deny the *Minor*, with the good leave of our Brethren: for albeit they are wont to make the people alone without their Officers the Church in this place, proving hence the peoples power of Jurisdiction before they have any Officers, also their power to cast out all their Officers when they have gotten them; yet now they have gone from the *Separatists* thus farre, as to say, that the people alone cannot be the Church here mentioned: but the Church must be the people with their Officers, whom now they will be loth as sometimes to make meere accidents and adjuncts of this Church: for now they hold them for integrall Members, so necessary, that without them no censure at all can be performed upon any.

They goe here a little further, telling us that the Church in this place cannot be the people, though with their Officers; but must be taken for the Officers with the people: because both the Power and the Execution of censures belongs to the Officers alone, though in the presence of the people, and with their consent and concurrence. They tell us that the Right and Authority of censures is given onely to the Presbytery of Governours, in such a manner that the Presbytery can be censured by no others, neither can any other be censured not onely without their consent, but not without their action.

We adde a third steppe: whether our former arguments must draw them, that the Church here meant, must be the governours alone without the peoples concurrence: for if Excommunication the great act of government, did belong to the people, either by themselves alone, or joyntly by way of concurrence with their Officers, it would follow that the people were either sole governours,

governours above their Officers, or joynt governours with their Officers: which albeit our Brethren did hold lately with the Separatists, yet now they will not assert, so much the more as they declare it to be their judgement and practise that the Elders alone without the People, doe meete apart in their Presbytery to heare all offences and to prepare them for publicke Judgement, whence I thus argue.

They to whom offences are to be told immediately after the two or three witnesses are not heard, They are the Church to whom in this place the power of excommunication is given; but, the Elders alone without the People, being set apart in their Presbytery, are they to whom offences are to be told, &c. *Ergo* The *Maior* is cleare from the Text, for it speakes but of one Church, which must be told, and heard under the paine of censure. The *Minor* is their own confession, and practise: and if that meeting of the Elders to whom they tell the offence, for preparation of the processe to their peoples voyce, be not the Church here mentioned, Then their ordinary practise of bringing scandals first to the Presbytery, before they be heard in the Congregation, shall be found not onely groundlesse beside the Scripture, but altogether contrary to the Scripture in hand: for the method here prescribed is that the Church be told when the witnesses are not heard: if therefore that company which is told after the witnesses are contemned, be not the Church: Christs order is not kept, and the Church gets wrong.

Thirdly, they reason from 1 *Cor. Chap.* 5. *ver.* 4. 5. 7. 12, 13. They who are gathered together with the Apostles Spirit, and the power of Christ to deliver the incestuous man to Sathan: Who were to purge out the old Leaven, and to judge them that are within, and put away the wicked Person: they have power to excommunicate; but, the People doe all these things. *Ergo*, Answer, the *Minor* is denied.

3. The people of *Corinth* did Judge and Excommunicate the incestuous man.

Ans. The Text will prove no such matter.

First, that gathering together might well be of the Presbytery alone, which our Brethren grant most meete in divers preparatory acts to censure.

Secondly, if it were of the whole people which cannot be supposed in *Corinth*, where the People and Officers were so many, that the Congregations, as in *Jerusalem*, and else where, were

more then one: Yet, ſuppoſe that all the people did meete to the excommunication of that wicked man, this proves not that every one who did meete unto that cenſure had either the power or the execution of it, more then of the Word and Sacraments, to which they did more frequently meete.

Thirdly, the purging out of the old Leaven, and the putting away the man, is commended indefinitely to theſe unto whom the Apoſtle wrote, which our Brethren grant cannot be expounded without ſundry exceptions. Firſt, none doubt of women and children; againe, in the next chapter, it is written indefinitely, you are ſanctified, you are juſtified, your Bodyes are the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt: this muſt be reſtricted to the elect and regenerate, except we will turne *Arminians*.

Everywhere in Scripture indefinite propoſitions muſt be expounded according as other Scriptures declare the nature of the matter in hand; ſo here, the act of purging and putting away, aſcribed indefinitely to the Church, muſt be expounded not of all the Members, but only of the Officers of the Church. For the *Browniſts* themſelves make not every Member to be a ruler: nor doe our Brethren give the formall authority and power of cenſures to any other but Officers, aſcribing to the reſt of the Members onely a Liberty of concurrence, ſo that the next word of Judgeing is expounded by them of a Judgement of diſcretion, not of any judiciall and authoritative Judgement, which alone is in queſtion.

4 The people of *Coloſſe* might cenſure *Archippus* their Miniſter.
Anſ. There is no Word in this Text of the peoples cenſure.

Fourthly, from *Col.* 4. 17. they reaſon: the people of *Coloſſe* had power to admoniſh their Miniſter *Archippus* to fullfill his Miniſtery. Therefore the People of any Church have power if neede be to excommunicate their Miniſter. Anſwer. Firſt, That however our Brethren pretend to have come off from the extremity of the *Browniſts* halfe way towards us: yet their arguments drive at the utmoſt of their old extreamities, at no leſſe then a power for the people to excommunicate their Miniſters. Thus farre the moſt of their reaſons doe carry, if they have any force at all. Secondly, the Antecedent may well be denyed; all that the Apoſtle ſpeakes to the *Coloſſians* indefinitely, muſt not be expounded of every one of the people: This precept of ſpeaking to *Archippus*, could not be better performed then by the Presbytery whereof *Archippus* was a Member. Thirdly, the conſequence is

invalid

invalid, They might admoniſh, therefore excommunicate. Every admonition is not in order to cenſure; it is a morall duty incumbent to every one to admoniſh lovingly and zealouſly his Brother, when there is cauſe: it is a ſinne and diſobedience to God if we let ſinne lie upon any whom we by our counſell and admonition can helpe; but to conclude that we have power to Excommunicate every man, whom in duty we ought to admoniſh, is an abſurdity which none of the *Separatiſts* will well digeſt.

Fifthly, from *Revel.* 2. 14. 20. The whole Churches of *Pergamus* and *Thyatira*, are rebuked for ſuffering wicked Hereticks to live among them uncenſured. *Ergo*, it was the duty of all the Church to cenſure them. Anſwer. Firſt, the concluſion is for a power to the people to cenſure, which our Brethren now deny. Secondly, The Antecedent may be denied; for the fault of that impious Toleration is not laid upon the whole Church, but expreſly upon the Angels. Thirdly, the conſequence is not good. The whole Church might be reproved for a neglect of their duty, in not inciting and incouraging their Officers to cenſure theſe Hereticks; but a reproofe for this neglect, inferreth not that it was the peoples duty to execute theſe cenſures: Thus much our Brethren will not avow.

5. The whole Church of *Pergamus* is rebuked for not cenſuring the Hereticks.

Anſ. The power of Cenſure was in the Angels, but the whole Church might be faulty in not incouraging the Angels to do their duty.

Sixthly, They reaſon from *Revel.* 4. 4. The foure and twenty Elders ſate on Thrones in white Robes with Crownes on their heads. *Ergo*, Every one of the Church hath a power of judging, as Kings with Crownes ſitting on their Thrones. Anſwer, Firſt, the concluſion ever inferres the full Tenet of the *Separatiſts*. Secondly, the conſequence is very weake, except many things be ſuppoſed which will not be granted without ſtrong proofes; firſt, that this Type is argumentative for the matter in hand; ſecondly, that this place is relative to the Church on earth, rather then to that in heaven: thirdly, that theſe Elders doe typifie the people rather then the Officers: Fourthly, that the Thrones and Crownes import a Kingly Office in every Chriſtian to be exerciſed in Church cenſures upon their brethren, more then the white robes doe inferre the Prieſtly Office of every Chriſtian to be exerciſed in Preaching the Word and celebrating the Sacraments.

6. The twenty foure Elder. ſit on Thrones with Crownes on their heads.

Anſ. This will not prove a regall power of judging in every one of the people.

Seventhly, They reaſon from *Galatians* 5. 1. 13. the *Galatians* were called unto Liberty whereto they behoved to ſtand faſt, as to a priviledge purchaſed by Chriſt his bloud; *Ergo*, Every one of them had a power to cut off their Officers. Anſwer. This is the Scripture whereupon our Brethren have lately fallen, and make more of it then of any other. I confeſſe, their reaſoning from it ſeemes to me the moſt unreaſonable throwing of the holy Scripture that I have readily ſeene in any Diſputant. The whole ſcope of the place carrying evidently a liberty from the burthen and ſervitude of the Law. Their fathering upon it a new and unheard of ſence, to wit, a priviledge of Church cenſures, without any authority or proper power therin, is very ſtrange: they cannot produce any Scripture where the word Liberty hath any ſuch ſence, and though they could, yet to give the word that ſence in this place where ſo clearely it is referred to a quite diverſe matter, it ſeemeth extreamely unreaſonable.

7. The *Galatians* muſt ſtand faſt to their Liberty.

Anſ. By Liberty here nothing leſſe is underſtood than a power of preſence and concurrence in judgement without all power of Authority.

Eightly, Thus they reaſon, The whole Congregation of *Iſrael* had power to puniſh Malefactors, as in the caſe of *Gibea* & in the meſſage of *Iſrael* to the two Tribes and halfe; alſo the people had power to reſcue from the hands of the Magiſtrates, as in the caſe of *Jonathan* from *Saul*. Anſ. The conſequence is *nul*; for the practiſe of the *Iſraelites* in their civill ſtate, is no ſufficient rule for the proceedings of the Church of the New Teſtament. Our Brethren would beware of ſuch Arguments, leaſt by them they entertaine the jealouſie which ſome profeſſe they have of their way, fearing it be builded upon ſuch principles as will ſet up the common people, not onely above their Officers in the Church, but alſo above their Magiſtrates in the State; That it draw in a popular government and Ochlocracie both in Church and State alike.

8. The whole Congregation of *Iſrael* had power to puniſh malefactors.

Anſw. What the people under the Law did in the State, is not a warrant for the people under the Goſpell to doe the ſame in the Church.

Ninthly, They thus reaſon. Whoever doe elect the Officers, they have power to ordaine them, and upon juſt cauſe to depoſe and excommunicate them. But the people do elect their Officers. *Ergo*. Anſwer. The *Major* is denied; for firſt, election is no act of power; ſuppoſe it to be a priviledge, yet there is no Juriſdiction in it at all; but Ordination is an act of Juriſdiction, it is an authoritative miſſion, and putting of a man into a ſpirituall Office. The people, though they have the right and poſſeſſion by Scripturall practiſe of the one, yet they never had either the right or the poſſeſſion

9. The people elect their Officers. *Ergo*, they may depoſe and Excommunicate them.

Anſw. Election is no act of power, or of Juriſdiction.

possession of the other. Secondly, suppose the Maxime were true, whereof yet I much doubt, unlesse it be well limited, *Ejus est destituere cujus instituere*, that they who give authority, have power to take it backe againe; yet we deny that the people who elect, give any authority or office at all, their election is at most but an Antecedent *Sine qua non*; it is the Presbytery onely who by their Ordination doe conferre the Office upon the elect person.

Finally, They argue, No act of Jurisdiction is valid without the peoples consent; *Ergo*, to every act of Jurisdiction the peoples presence and concurrence is necessary: *Ans.* The Antecedent in many cases is false; a gracious Orthodox Minister may be ordained a Pastor to an Hereticall people against their consent: an Hereticall Pastor, who hath seduced all his flocke, may be removed from them against their passionate desires to keepe him: but the consequent is more vitious; where ever consent is requisite, their presence, much lesse authoratative concurrence, is not necessary: all the souldiers are not present at the Counsell of War, and yet the decrees of that Counsell of War cannot be executed without the consent and action of the Souldiers: every member of the Church of *Antioch* was not present at the Synod of *Jerusalem*: divers members of the *Independent* Congregations are absent from many Church determinations, to the which upon their first knowledge they doe agree.

10. The people must be present and consent to every act of Judgement. *Answ.* It is not so, and if it were, yet it inferres not their power of Jurisdiction.

CHAP.

Chap. X.

Independency *is contrary to the Word of God.*

God is the Author of the union and dependencie of particular Churches.

THE Divine Wisedome which found it expedient for man before the Fall, not to live alone, hath made it much more needfull for man to live in Society after his weakning by sinne; *Woe to him that is alone, for if he fall who shall raise him up?* The best wits of themselves are prone to errors and miscarriages, and left alone, are inclined to run on in any evill way they have once begunne: But engagement in fellowshippe, especially with the Saints, is a preservative against the beginnings of evill, and a retractive therefrom when begunne. Every gratious neighbour is a Counsellour and Pedagogue; the greater the incorporation is of such, the better is every Member directed and the more strengthened. Hence the goodnesse of God hath ordained not onely the planting of particular men into a small body of one single Congregation; but for the greater security both of Persons and Congregations, the Lord hath increased that Communion of Churches by binding neighbour-Congregations in a larger and stronger Body of a Presbytery, or Classis; yea a number of Presbyteries by the same hand of God are combined in a Synod; neither this onely, but for the strengthening of every stone and of the whole building, the Lord hath appointed the largest societies that are possible, the very Church universall and the representation thereof, an *Oecumenick* Assembly. This congregative way is divine; the dissolution of humane societies, especially of Ecclesiastick Assemblies, must be from another Spirit.

The first we know to have opposed the holy Societies wee speake of, were *Anabaptists*, who liking a Catholike anarchy in all things, and pressing an universall liberty, did strive to cut in peeces all the bands, as of politicke and *Oeconomick* union whereby Kingdomes and States, Cities and Families did stand, so also of the Ecclesiastick conjunction, making every person at last fully free from all servitude, and simply independent or uncontroulable in any of his owne opinions or desires, by any mortall man.

Their

Their first follower among the reformed, was one *John Moreau a Persian*, who in the *French* Churches did vent the Independency of Congregations from Synods, and the popular government of these Independent Congregations: But his schismatick pamphlet came no sooner abroad then the *French* Divines did most unanimously trample upon it. In their generall Assembly at *Rochell*, most Reverend *Beza Moderator* for the time, and in their next Assembly, Learned *Sadeell* with others, did so fully confute these *Anabaptisticke* follies, that thereafter in *France* this evill Spirit did never so much as whisper; onely in *Holland*, in the *Arminian* times it began to speake by the tongue of *Grotius*, and others of his fellowes, who being conscious to themselves of Tenets whereunto they despaired the assent of any Synode, yea fearing to be prejudged in the propagation of their errours by a crosse Sentence of a Nationall Assembly, did set themselves to call in question, and at last to deny the Authority and Jurisdiction of all Church meetings. But when the goodnesse of God in that happy Synode of *Dort*, did crush the other errours of that Party, this their fansie did evanish, and since in these bounds hath beene buried in Oblivion. By what meanes this *Anabaptisticke* roote which neither *France* nor *Holland* could beare, when *Grotius* and *Morellius* did assay to plant it, doth thrive so well in *England*, after *Browne* and *Barrow* with their followers did become its dressers, I have declared at length before.

From them *Morellius* and *Grotius* learned the Tenet.

However the Novelty of the Tenet, the Infamy of its Authours, the evill successe it hath had where-ever yet it hath set up the head, doth burden it with so just contempt, that all further audience might be denied thereto: yet in this impudent and malapert age, where the greatest absurdityes will importunately ingyre themselves, and require beleefe as unanswerable and most convincing truthes, unlesse in a full hearing their naughtinesse be demonstrate; we are content without all prejudices to reason the matter it selfe from the ground, and to require no man to hate this errour for its Authours, or any externall consideration, unlesse it be clearely showne to be contrary to the revealed will of God.

Laying aside all prejudice we will reason the matter.

The state of the Question hath no perplexity, if its termes were cleared. The *Brownists* affirme that every Parish Church, that every

The state of the Question cleared.

every ſingle Congregation, is Independent from any Presbytery, any Synod, any Aſſembly: This we deny, affirming the true dependence and ſubordination of Parochiall Congregations to Presbyteries, and of theſe to Synods; to which we aſcribe power, authority, and Juriſdiction.

Before we fall to reaſoning, let us underſtand the words, which in this debate doe frequently occurre. Firſt, What is a Parochiall Church, or ſingle Congregation. Secondly, What is its Independency. Thirdly, What is a Presbytery, and a Presbyteriall Church. Fourthly, What is a Synod. Fifthly, What is Authority and Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall. We intend no definitions, but ſuch popular deſcriptions as may make cleare what the parties uſe to underſtand by theſe words.

A particular Church, a Pariſh or Congregation in this Queſtion, is taken for a company of faithfull people, every one whereof in the face of the whole Congregation, hath given ſo cleare tokens of their true grace and regeneration, as hath ſatisfyed the minde of all: A company, I ſay, incorporate by a particular Covenant and Oath to exerciſe all the parts of Chriſtian Religion, in one place under one Paſtor. Our Oppoſites affirme, that in one Church there muſt be but one Paſtor, aſſiſted indeede with a Doctor, and three or foure Elders, yet no more Paſtors but one. They will admit into a Church no more people then commodiouſly, and at their eaſe, may convene in one houſe; how few they be they care not; ten families, or forty perſons to them are a faire Church: you have heard that ſome of their Churches have been within the number of foure perſons.

Independencie is the full liberty of ſuch a Church to diſcharge all the parts of Religion, Doctrine, Sacraments, Diſcipline, and all within it ſelfe without all dependence, all ſubordination to any other on earth, more or fewer, ſo that the ſmalleſt Congregation, ſuppoſe of three perſons, though it fall into the groſſeſt hereſies, may not be controlled by any Orthodoxe Synod, were it Oecumenicke of all the Churches on earth.

A Presbytery, as it is called in *Scotland*, or a Claſſis, as in *Holland*, or a Collogue, as in *France*, is an ordinary meeting of the Paſtors of the Churches neerly neighbouring, & of the ruling Elders deputed therefrom, for the exerciſe chiefely of diſcipline, ſo farre

as

as concernes theſe neighbouring Churches in common.

A Presbyteriall Church, is a company of Profeſſors governed by one Presbytery, who for the exerciſe of Religion meete in diverſe places, or who have more Paſtors then one.

A Synod, is a convention of Paſtors and Elders ſent and deputed from diverſe Presbyteries, meeting either ordinarily or upon occaſion for the affaires that are common to thoſe that ſent them.

Eccleſiaſticke Juriſdiction, is a right and power, not onely by adviſe to counſell and direct, but by authority given of God, to injoyne and performe according to the rule of Scriptures thoſe things which concerne the Ordination of Miniſters, the deciding of Eccleſiaſticke Cauſes, the determination of Doctrines, the inflicting of Cenſures, &c. The ſignification of theſe words being preſuppoſed, the ſtate of the Queſtion, or minde of the parties, cannot be obſcure.

The firſt Argument for the truth, I caſt into this Forme; Every *Independent* Church hath alwayes, and ordinarily, the right of Ordination, and power to lay hands on Paſtors. But, no ſingle Congregation, or Parochiall Church hath that right and power. *Ergo*, No ſingle Congregation is an Independent Church. The *Maior* is not queſtioned by the adverſe party, for they place the nature of their Independencie in a right and power intrinſecall and eſſentiall to every the leaſt Congregation of Ordaining, Depoſing, Excommunicating, and exerciſing all acts of Juriſdiction upon all their owne Members as well Paſtors as others. I ſaid always, and ordinarily, for we queſtion not now what at ſome times in ſome extraordinary caſes may fall out to be lawfull and neceſſary, not onely to ſingle Congregations, but even to ſingle perſons: Alſo the power which our adverſe party diſputeth for, is not Hypothetick, which ſometimes on ſuppoſition of ſuch and ſuch caſes belongeth to a Church, but abſolute, which is inherent to every Congregation at all times.

The ſingle Congregations are not Independent, is proved; firſt, from 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. becauſe they have not the right of Ordination.

The *Minor* we prove thus: What is proper to a Presbytery, the right thereof belongs not to any ſingle Congregation: But Ordination, and impoſition of hands is proper to a Presbytery, as appeareth from 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by Propheſie with the laying on of the hands of*

Ordination belongs to the Presbytery.

the Presbytery. The Apoſtle maketh that right proper to the Presbytery, which he will have to remaine in it, and not to be removed therefrom; notwithſtanding ſundry extraordinary caſes which might have excuſed the removeall of it. For *Timothy* was a Paſtor not altogether ordinary and inferior, bnt an Evangeliſt; he had for the ground of his Office the extraordinary call of ſome Prophets; when he was ſent out to Preach, *Paul* himſelf laid hands upon him; notwithſtanding all this, that the due and juſt right of the Presbytery might be proclamed, the Apoſtle marketh that the gift, office, and grace of Preaching the Goſpell was conferred on *Timothy* by the laying on of the Presbyteries hands.

For the proof of the laſt *Major*, we neede not much deſcant on the Word Presbytery and the ſenſe of it in the fore-named place, nor to refute the miſinterpretations which ſome make of it, eſpecially they, who under the miſ-alledged authority of *Calvin*, would underſtand not the convention of any men, but the Office of a Presbyter, as if an Office or any accident could have had hands which might have been laid on *Timothies* head. Paſſing therefore ſuch digreſſions, we prove the *Major* in hand thus: No ſingle Congregation is a Presbytery nor any wayes neceſſarily hath a Presbytery within it ſelfe; yea if our adverſe party may be beleeved, no Congregation can have, at leaſt ſhould have in it ſelfe ſuch a Presbytery whereof *Paul* ſpeaketh. *Ergo*, What is proper to a Presbytery, the right thereof may not be uſurped by a ſingle Congregation. Of the conſequence there is no doubt: the Antecedent hath three parts: onely the firſt is needfull to be proved; but for more abundant ſatisfaction, we ſhall aſſay to prove them all.

No Congregation is a Presbytery.

The firſt, thus; A Presbytery is a member and part of a Congregation according to our adverſe party (we love not to ſtrive for words, be it ſo that the meeting of a Miniſter and Elders governing ſingle Congregations, which we call a Seſſion, as over-Sea it is called a Conſiſtory, may goe under the name of a Presbytery) *Ergo* No Congregation is a Presbytery. The Conſequence is clear, for no member may be affirmed in the *Nominative* of its owne whole, eſpecially *Heterogeneous*: the body is not the head, the finger is not the hand; the doore or the window is not the houſe.

Concerning the ſecood part of the Antecedent, that no Congregation

gregation hath a Presbytery any wayes neceſſary within it ſelfe, this is cleare from the common practiſe of our adverſe party: very oft their Churches have neither Seſſion, nor Paſtor, nor Doctor, nor Elder at all; they make not any of the Officers neceſſary parts of the Church, either eſſentiall or integrall. without the which the Church may not ſubſiſt: yea, as the moſt learned and moſt acute Mr. *Rutherford* hath well obſerved *pag.* 272. their grounds take away the neceſſity of any Miniſter at all. Mr. *Paget* tells us that their chiefe and Mother-Church at *Amſterdame*, through the miſ-government of their Paſtor, Mr. *Can*, hath wanted now for ſome yeares both a Doctor and Elders, and a Seſſion, or Congregationall Presbytery. No Congregation hath within it ſelfe neceſſarily a Presbytery.

But the pith of the Argument is in the third part of the Antecedent, that no ſingle Congregation can have, or (which is all one when we ſpeake of right and wrong) ought to have within it ſelfe *Pauls* Presbytery. This we prove. No ſingle Congregation may, or ought to have more Paſtors then one. *Ergo*, Neither *Pauls* Presbytery. The Antecedent is the Doctrine of our adverſe party. The Conſequence leaneth on this Propoſition; In *Pauls* Presbytery are more Paſtors, which thus is proved: Where there are many layers on of hands on Paſtors, there are many Paſtors: But, in *Pauls* Presbytery are many layers on of hands on Paſtors; for in the alledged place, not one, but many lay on their hands with *Paul* on *Timothy*. The laſt *Maior* leaneth on this ground, that onely Paſtors lay hands on Paſtors, ſo that many laying hands on Paſtors, muſt be many Paſtors, and by Conſequence, in one Congregation, where there are not many, but one onely Paſtor, (yea none at all whenſoever by impoſition of hands a new Paſtor is to be ordained to that Congregation) the act of Ordination cannot be lawfully performed by the proper members of that Congregation. No ſingle Congregation ought to have within it ſelfe *Pauls* Presbytery.

That which alone remaineth to be proved, that onely Paſtors lay hands upon Paſtors, is cleared by an Induction, againſt which no inſtance can be brought. 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. *Lay hands ſuddenly on no man.* 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. *Stirre up the gift of God that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.* *Tit.* 1. 5. *I left thee in Creete that thou ſhouldeſt ordaine Elders.* *Acts.* 13. 1, 3. *Certaine Prophets and Teachers laid their hands upon them, and ſent them away.* *Acts.* 14. 23. *They* Onely Paſtors lay hands on Paſtors.

ordained them Elders in every Church. In all these places both the first Ordination, and *posterior* Mission to preach the Gospell, is the Act onely of those who were Pastors, neither else-where reade we that it was otherwise.

The second Argument from the Apostolicke Churches which exercised full jurisdiction, the chiefe whereof, if not all, were Presbyteriall and not Paroeciall.

The second argument: Every Independent Church, exerciseth ordinarily within it selfe, by its owne members, all acts of Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction. But, this no single Congregation doth ordinarily. *Ergo*, no single Congregation is an Independent Church. Onely the *Minor* is dubious, which we prove thus; Every Church ordinarily exercising all acts of Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction is Presbyteriall: But, no single Congregation is a Presbyteriall Church. *Ergo*, No single Congregation exerciseth ordinarily all acts of Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction. The *Minor* is cleare from the nature of a single Congregation and Presbyteriall Church, as in the stateing of the Question both were described. The *Major* is proved by a full Jurisdiction of all the Churches which in the New Testament we reade to have had the first exercise of all Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction. That all such were Presbyteriall and not Congregationall, We prove it thus; A Church which cannot all convene in one house for the publicke Service of God, a Church which hath more Pastors then one, is Presbyteriall, not Congregationall, according to the grounds of our Adversaries. But all the Churches we reade of in the New Testament to have had the full exercise of all Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction, did meete in more places for divine worshippe, and had more Pastors then one. This we demonstrate of the chiefe, the Church at *Jerusalem, Samaria, Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch*; neither can a reason be given why the rest of the Scripturall Churches should not be of the same kind.

Such was the Church at *Jerusalem.*

Beginne with the Mother-Church of *Jerusalem.* A company consisting of many thousand persons, and wanting a publicke house of meeting, could not convene into one place for worshippe: for this very day when Christians have gotten most stately and spacious Palaces for Churches, hardly one thousand can commodiously be together for solemne worshippe; and if we looke to the practise of our Adversaries, a few score of men will be a large Church.

As for the State of the Church at *Jerusalem.* First, it is granted that for many yeares after the Apostles, neither it nor any other company

co npany of Chriſtians in any part of the world had a publicke place of meeting. Secondly, That this Church did conſiſt of many thouſand people, the following places prove. *Acts.* 2. 41. *The ſame day were added unto them about three thouſand.* Alſo chap. 4, 5. *The number of the men were five thouſand.* And where there were ſo many men, if yee looke to the ordinary proportion, there were of women and children twice or thrice ſo many. Neither did that Church ſtand at the named thouſands, for *Acts.* 5. 14. more multitudes both of men and women were added to the Church, and the number of the Diſciples was yet more multiplyed chap. 6. 1. Alſo that which we reade chap. 2. 47. The Lord added to the Church daily, ſeemeth to have continued for a long time.

To that which is replyed by ſome, that a great part of the named multitudes were ſtrangers, and not Inhabitants at *Jeruſalem*, and ſo no Members of that Church; We anſwer, that this is ſaid without warrant. That of the three thouſand mentioned in the third chapter, ſome part were ſtrangers, we will not deny to be likely: but that the moſt part were ſo, or that of all the thouſands named in the fourth, fifth, and ſixth, any one was a ſtranger, it cannot be proved from the Text.

How the Church cometh together.

As for that which they bring from the 2 chap. v. 44. *All who beleeved were together: as if the whole Church had always come to one place for the publicke worſhippe.* We ſay that it was ſimply impoſſible for three thouſand people, not to ſpeake of twenty thouſand and above, to meete in one private houſe, for they had none publicke, neither did they in the ſtreetes celebrate their Sacraments. So we are neceſſitated to take the Churches being together, one of three wayes; either for the conjunction of their mindes, as the following words doe import (*they continued with one accord in the Temple*) or elſe their meeting together muſt be underſtood diſtributively in divers places, not collectively in one, as the words in hand will alſo beare where the celebration of the Lords Supper, and breaking of bread is ſaid to be not in any one houſe onely but *from houſe to houſe*. The Church meeteth in a third way together when not all the Members, but the Officers with a part of the people convene in a Presbytery, as appeareth from the 15 and 21 chapters.

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The Church of *Samaria* also was Presbyteriall.

The case is no lesse cleare of the Church of *Samaria. Acts.* 8. 6. 10. 12. 14 verses; the People of that City with one accord from the least to the greatest both men and women did beleeve, in such a number that the chiefe of the Apostles *Peter* and *John* were sent from *Jerusalem* to assist *Philip* in their instruction. Could this whole City which was among the greatest of *Canaan* convene all to Gods worshippe in one private roome, or be served with one Pastor, who required for a time the attendance not onely of *Philip* but further of two prime Apostles?

So that of *Rome.*

Come to the rest. The *Romane* Church was *one Body. Rom.* 12. 6. yet so great that it could not meete in one private roome. For in the 16. chap. beside the Church which met in the house of *Aquila*, *v.* 5. there are a number of houses set downe, in which, besides divers Saints named, there are many others also unnamed which worshipped with them, *v.* 14. 15. So great were the multitudes of Christians then at *Rome* that their fame was spread over all the world. chap. 1. 8. and. chap. 16. 19. In the City of *Rome* were many hundred thousand men, the halfe of which according to *Tertullian*, were Christians the age after the Apostles: and a little after *Cornelius* recordeth that more then forty Preachers did attend the instruction of that people who yet had no publicke place of meeting.

And of *Corinth*

The same was the case of the Church at *Corinth* at its very beginning, *Acts.* 18. 8. It did consist of a multitude both *Iewes* and *Gentiles*; beside all which, God *had much people in that City. v.* 10. which by the continuall labours of *Paul* for 18 monthes were converted, *v.* 11. for whose instruction beside *Paul*, *Apollos*, *Timotheus*, a great number of other Doctors attended, 1 *Cor.* 4. 15. not to speake of a multitude of false Teachers: they had also a number of idle and vaine Teachers who kept the foundation, but builded upon it hay, stubble and timber. Could all these meete together in one private place? unlesse ye would understand their meetings distributively, or for the convention of their Officers with a part of the people for discipline.

And of *Ephesus.*

Also at *Ephesus* was but one Church. For *Acts* 20. 17. *Paul called to him the Elders of that Church*, in the singular; yet that in *Ephesus* there was so great a number of Christians as could not commodiously serve God in one private roome, it seemes most cleare;

cleare; for in that moſt noble Mart Town *Paul* did preach whole two yeares. *Acts.* 19. 10. yea he ceaſed not day nor night for full three yeares, chap. 20.31. *The feare of God fell on all that people both Jewes and Gentiles, and the name of Jeſus was magnified, chap.* 19.19. So great a multitude even of Scholars was converted that the Profeſſors of curious arts alone did make a fire of Bookes to the value of 50000 *peeces of ſilver*: ſo mightily grew the word of God there *v.* 20. Further, in the Church of *Epheſus* were many Paſtors; for *Acts.* 20. 17. *Paul* called for the Elders, not one onely. That divers of theſe, if not all, were Paſtors and Doctors, it appeareth from v. 28. where they are appointed by the Holy Ghoſt, to be feeders of the flocke and get a Commiſſion to oppoſe falſe Doctors, about the which they went faithfully, as the Lord beareth them witneſſe. *Revel.* 2.2. Now the charge of the Doctrine to trie and examine falſe Teachers, lyeth principally on Preachers.

This is alike true of the Church of *Antioch*: The hand of the Lord was in the City, and a great number beleeved, *Acts.* 11.22. Thereafter by *Barnabas* labour there was much people added. *v.* 24. yea, by the joyned paines of *Barnabas* and *Paul* for a yeare together, there was ſuch a multitude converted, that the name of Chriſtians was firſt impoſed upon them. Here, as in the Metropolitane City, not onely of *Syria*, but of all *Aſia*, beſide *Barnabas*, *Paul* and other Prophets, *v.* 27. *Peter* alſo, and many other Doctors had their reſidence, *Gal.* 2.11. It were too long to ſpeake of the reſt of the Apoſtolicke Churches, whoſe condition was not unlike the former. Alſo of *Antioch* and the reſt.

Our third Argument: No Synod hath authority to impoſe Decrees upon an *Independent* Church: But, ſome Synods have authority to impoſe Decrees upon particular Churches, whether Presbyteriall or Congregationall. *Ergo*, Particular Churches, whether Presbyteriall or Congregationall, are not Independent. The *Major* is not controverted; our adverſe party acknowledgeth the lawfull uſe and manifold fruites of Synods: They grant it is the duty of every good man and much more of every Church, and moſt of all of a Synode conſiſting of the Meſſengers of many Churches, to admoniſh, counſell, perſwade, and requeſt particular Churches to doe their duty. But, that any company on earth, even an Oecumenicke Synod, ſhould preſume to enjoyne with Our third Argument from the ſubordination of the Church of *Antioch* to the Synod at *Jeruſalem Acts* 15.

authority the ſmalleſt Congregation, to leave the groſſeſt hereſies under the paine of any cenſure, they count it abſurd. Vpon this ground, that every Congregation, how ſmall ſoever, how corrupt ſoever, is an *Independent* body, and not ſubordinate to any ſociety on earth, how great, how pure, how holy ſoever.

The *Minor* is thus proved: The Synod of *Jeruſalem* impoſed with authority her Decrees upon the Church of *Antioch*. *Ergo*, Some Synod; and if you pleaſe to make it univerſall, every lawfull Synod may impoſe its Decrees upon particular Churches. The Antecedent is to be ſeene, *Acts* 15. 20. *It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us, to lay no further burden on you then theſe things neceſſary.* The Conſequence is good: for *Antioch* was among the chiefe of the Apoſtolicke Churches: it is *Barnabas*, *Paul*, and other Prophets inſpired of God were Preachers: if this Church were ſubject to the Authority of Synods, what Church may plead a freedome from the like ſubjection?

Anſwer to the Replies.

Many things are here replied, as uſually it happeneth when no ſolid anſwer can be brought. The chiefe heads of the Reply are three. Firſt, that the meeting at *Ieruſalem* was no Synod. Secondly, What ever it was, that it did enjoyne nothing authoritatively to any other Churches. Thirdly, That other Synods may not pretend to the priviledges of that meeting ſince its Decrees were indited by the Holy Ghoſt, and ſtand now in the holy Canon as a part of Scripture.

The meeting at Jeruſalem was a true Synod.

To the firſt, we ſay, that the meeting at *Ieruſalem* is either a true Synod, or elſe there is no paterne in all Scripture for Synods, even for counſell, or adviſe, or any other uſe. But, this were inconvenient: for they acknowledge that Synods are lawfull meanes for many gracious ends in the Church: Now, to affirme that any Eccleſiaſticke meeting is lawfull, neceſſary, or convenient for gracious ends, whereof no patterne, no example can be found in Scripture, were dangerous.

But beſide this argument, towards our adverſe party, we reaſon from the nature of the thing it ſelfe. A meeting conſiſting of the Deputies of many Presbyteriall Churches, is a true Synod; but the convention at *Jeruſalem*, *Acts* 15. was ſuch a meeting. The *Maior* is the eſſence of a Synod: there are many accidentall differences of Synods; for according to the quantity and number of the

the Churches who ſend their Commiſſioners, the Synod is ſmaller or greater, is Provinciall, Nationall, or Oecumenicke: according to occaſion, the Churches ſending Commiſſioners, are ſometime moe, ſometime fewer, ſometime neerer, ſometime further off: alſo according to the commodity of place, and neceſſity of affaires, there come from one Church moe, and from others fewer: all theſe are but accidentalls, which change not the nature of the thing. Unto the eſſence of a Synod, no more uſeth to be required then a meeting of Commiſſioners from moe Presbyteriall Churches. The *Minor* is cleare: That the Church of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem* were moe Churches, no man doubts; that both were Presbyteriall, it was proved before; that from both theſe Presbyteriall Churches, Commiſſioners did ſit at that meeting, it is apparent from that oft cited, *Acts* 15. Yea that from the other Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, beſides *Antioch*, Commiſsioners did come to *Jeruſalem*, may appeare by conference of the 2. *verſe* of the 15. *chap.* with *verſ.* 23. for that with *Paul* and *Barnabas* Commiſsioners for the time from the *Antiochians*, others alſo did come, it is certaine: that thoſe others, at leaſt ſome of them, were Deputed from the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, it is like, becauſe the Synodick Epiſtle is directed expreſly no leſſe to thoſe than to this of *Antioch*; alſo thoſe, no leſſe than this, are ſaid to be troubled with the Queſtions which occaſioned that meeting. But to paſſe this conſideration, it is cleare that in the Convention at *Jeruſalem* were preſent, not onely the Commiſsioners of ſome few Presbyteriall Churches, but alſo they whom God hath made conſtant Commiſsiones to all the Churches of the world, to wit, the Apoſtles; their preſence made all the Churches legally ſubject to the Decrees of that Synod; though they had no other but their grand and conſtant Commiſſioners to Voyce for them in that meeting.

It doth not onely adviſe but command. The Decrees of that Synod at their firſt making had onely Eccleſiaſtick Authority.

The ſecond Anſwer is clearely refuted from the 28. *verſ.* where the Decrees are not propoſed by way of meere adviſe, but are enjoyned and impoſed as neceſſary burdens, with Authority, not onely of the Synod but of the Holy Ghoſt.

Concerning the third, we ſay that the meerely Divine, and more than Eccleſiaſticke Authority of theſe Decrees in their firſt Formation, is not made good from this, that now they ſtand in

holy Scripture, and are become a part of the Bible; for a world of Acts meerely indifferent, and which without doubt in their Originall had no more then Eccleſiaſticke Authority, are Regiſtred in Scripture. Was the Presbytery of *Lyſtraes* laying on of hands on *Timothy* any other then an act of Eccleſiaſticke Ordination? the Decree of the Church of *Corinth* for the inceſtuous mans Excommunication, or relaxion after Repentance, was it any more then an act of Juriſdiction meerely Eccleſiaſticke? *Pauls* circumciſion of *Timothy*, his Vow at *Cenchrea*, the cutting of his haire at *Jeruſalem*, were free and indifferent actions: The nature of theſe things and many moe of that kinde, is not changed by their Regiſtring in the Booke of God. Neither alſo is the meerly Divine Authority of the Decrees at *Jeruſalem* proved by this, that in their firſt framing they were grounded on cleare Scripture, and after proclamed in the name of the holy Ghoſt; for that is the condition of the lawfull Decrees of all gracious Synods. Did not of old the Fathers of *Nice*, and of late the Fathers of *Dort*, through the inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, who remaineth with the Church, eſpecially with gracious Synods to the worlds end, pronounce from the holy Scripture their Decrees of the Godhead of *Chriſt* againſt *Arrius*, and of the grace of God againſt *Arminius*? Shall we for this cauſe aſcribe to the Canons of *Nice* or *Dort* any greater authority then Eccleſiaſticke and Humane? Howſoever, that the Apoſtles in framing the Canons at *Jeruſalem*, did proceed in a way meerely Eccleſiaſtick, and farre different from that they uſed in dictating of Scripture, and publiſhing of truthes meerely Divine, appeareth from this; firſt, that theſe Canons were brought forth by much Diſputation and long diſcourſe; But, Divine Oracles without the proces of humane Ratiocinations are publiſhed from the immediate inditing of the Spirit, 2 *Pet.* 1. 21. *The Propheſie in old time came not by the will of man, but the holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the holy Ghoſt.* Secondly, Oracles meerely Divine are publiſhed onely in the name of God, *Thus ſaith the Lord*; but, theſe Canons are proclamed, not onely in the name of God, but alſo in the name of man, *It ſeemeth good to the holy Ghoſt, and to us.* Thirdly, the Oracles of God are dictated to the Church by the Miniſtry only of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and men inſpired with an infallible Spirit

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rit, *Epheſ.* 2.20. *Being built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles.* But, the Canons of that Synod, *Acts.* 15. are declared to be the worke, not onely of the holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtles, but alſo of the Elders, and of all who Voyced to them. So it is cleare, that in the making of theſe Canons, the Apoſtles, as elſe-where oft, did come downe from the eminent Chaire of their Apoſtolike and extraordinary authority to the lower place of Ordinary Paſtors, that in their owne perſons they might give an example to ordinary Paſtors in what manner holy Synods might be rightly celebrated to the worlds end. Had not this beene their end, how eaſie had it beene either for *Paul* or *Barnabas* at *Antioch*, without the toyleſome voyage of a long journey to *Ieruſalem*, or for *Peter* or *John*, or *James*, or any one of the Apoſtles at *Ieruſalem*, without the ſuperfluous paines of any convention or diſputation, as infallible Apoſtles to have pronounced Divine and irrefragable Decrees of all the matters in queſtion.

Our fourth argument. A Church ſubordinate is not Independent; but, a *Parochiall* Church is ſubordinate to a Presbyteriall: For a leſſer Church is ſubordinate to a greater, as a part to its whole wherein it is contained. Now a *Parochiall* Church is leſſer and the leaſt of all Churches; a Presbyteriall Church is greater. Of the quantity that the one is leſſer, the other greater ther is no doubt; but of the matter it ſelf there is no queſtion whether there be any ſuch thing as a Presbyteriall Church. Now this was proved before and hereafter alſo will be more cleare; the cheife plea here is againſt the ſecond major which we prove thus: A ſmaller number of the faithfull is ſubordinate by Chriſt to a greater number of the faithfull. But, a leſſer Church is a ſmaller number of the faithfull, and a greater Church is a greater number of the faithfull. The *Maior* is proved from the 18. of *Math. ver.* 15, 16, 17, 18. *If thy Brother treſpaſſe againſt thee, &c.* Here the Lord in admonitions and Church-cenſures inſtitutes a ſubordination, a gradation, a proceſſe from one to two or three, from two or three to moe. Underſtand thoſe moe not abſolutely and at randome, but in a ſociety bound together by the orderly ligaments of divine policy, ſuch as we ſuppoſe the Churches to be from the ſmalleſt to the greateſt till you come to the very Church Univerſall.

Our fourth argument from the ſubordination of fewer to moe, appointed by Chriſt, *Mat.* 18.

Here they diſtinguiſh the Major, granting that in this place a

ſubordination is appointed by Chriſt of fewer to moe within the ſame Church, but not without. We might oppugne the application of the diſtinction to the Minor, and prove that a Presbyteriall Church is a greater number of the faithfull within, not without the ſame Church; for a Congregationall Church may not unfitly be compared with a Presbyteriall as a part with its whole; eſpecially if you compare the meeting of the Officers which rule the Pariſh with the Presbytery; theſe two are not extrinſecall the one to the other; for the Seſſions, or Conſiſtories or Claſſes, are in the Presbytery which is compoſed of the Commiſſioners from Seſſions as of its owne and intrinſecall Members.

Chriſts ſubordination is to be extended to the utmoſt bounds of the Church univerſall.

But leaving this, we oppugne the ground of the diſtinction as it lyeth in the Major; breaking the one halfe of it upon the other. The ſubordination of fewer to moe in the forenamed place is eſtabliſhed ſay they within the ſame Church. *Ergo*, ſay we, without the ſame Church, we meane with them without the ſame *Parochiall* Church: the conſequence we prove by three arguments. Firſt, there is a like reaſon for the ſubordination of fewer to moe without the ſame Church as within the ſame; for the chiefe reaſon why the Lord ordaines us in admonitions to proceed from one to two or three, from two or three to a number ſitting as Judges in the Seſſion of one Congregation, is becauſe in the admonitions of two or three, more authority, gravity and wiſedome are preſuppoſed to be than in the admonitions of one alone: and that a Delinquent is ſtricken with more feare, ſhame, and reverence by the faces and mouthes of many who ſit as Judges in the name of the whole Congregation, than he would be by the mouth of two or three onely. Doth not this power, vertue, and weight of admonition increaſe with the number of admoniſhers, as well without as within the ſame Congregation? For as the admonition and cenſure of tenne ſitting in the name of one Congregation, hath greater weight then the admonition of two or three of that ſame Flocke who repreſent none but themſelves; ſo the admonition of thirty Miniſters and Elders repreſenting in a Presbytery fifteene Congregations, whoſe Commiſſioners they are, ſhall have more weight then the admonition of ten which repreſent but one flocke: for it is according to reaſon, that thoſe thirty Members of the Presbytery ſhould exceede in wiſedome, zeale,

zeale, gravity, and other qualities which adde weight to an admonition, theſe ten which in a Seſſion repreſent one Congregation ſo farre as thoſe ten goe beyond the two or three ſeverall perſons of that Congregation.

Secondly, unleſſe in this place be eſtabliſhed a ſubordination of fewer to moe, as well without as within the ſame Congregation, the remedy brought by Chriſt will be unable to cure the ill for which it was brought. The Lords meanes will be diſproportionable and unequall to its end; but this were abſurd to ſay of the wiſeſt of all Phyſicians. The reaſon of the *Maior* is this, Chriſt is preſcribing an helpe and cure for brotherly offences: now one may be offended by a brother as well without as within the ſame Congregation: and as well by many brethren as by one; yea, as well may we be offended by a whole Church as by one member thereof: Now, if after the minde of our adverſe party, the ſubordination of fewer to moe might not be extended without the bonds of one Congregation, the Lords medicine were not meete to cure very many ordinary and daily ſcandals; for what if a man be ſcandalized by the neighbour Church? To whom ſhall he complaine? when the Church offending is both the Judge and party, it is likely ſhe willl miſregard the complaints that are made to her of her ſelſe. What if a man be ſcandalized by his owne Church or by the moſt, or by the ſtrongeſt part of it? What if that Church to whom he complaineth, take part againſt Juſtice and reaſon with him upon whom he complaines? It will be impoſſible to remedy innumerable offences which daily fall among brethren, unleſſe appeales be granted, and the ſubordination eſtabliſhed by Chriſt be extended, not onely without the bonds of one Pariſh, but as farre and wide as the utmoſt limits of the Church univerſall: for upon this place is rightly grounded by the Ancients, the Authority of Synods even Oecumenick of all the Churches.

Thirdly, the ſubordination eſtabliſhed by *Chriſt*, *Math.* 18. is ſo farre to be extended in the Chriſtian Church as it was extended in the Church of the *Iewes*; for *Chriſt* there alludeth to the *Iewiſh* practiſe. But ſo it is, that in the *Iewiſh* Church there was ever a ſubordination of fewer to moe, not onely within the ſame Synagogue, but within the whole Nation, and ſo within the whole

whole Church Universall: for all Synagogues every where in the world were under the great Counsell at *Jerusalem.* No doubt of the *Minor*; the *Major* is builded upon this ground, that what ever *Christ* hath translated from the Synagogue to the Church, especially if it be of naturall equity, hath as great force now amongst Christians, as of old among the *Iewes.* Now, that the subordination of Synagogues to the great Councell is of naturall equity, it appeareth thus: A Synagogue was the lowest Ecclesiasticke Court, the Councell was the highest: but the subordination of the lowest Court to the highest, is of naturall right: for Nature hath ever dictated to all Nations, as well in things civill as religious, a subordination of the lowest to the highest.

Our fifth argument from the evill consequents, which reason and experience demonstrate to follow Independency necessarily and naturally.

Our fifth Argument: That which taketh away all possibility of any effectuall remedy against Heresie, Idolatry, Schisme, Tyranny, or any other mischiefe that wracks either one or more Churches, is not of God; for God is the Author and conserver of truth, purity, union, order, liberty, and of all vertue: God of his goodnesse and wisedome hath provided for all and every one of his Churches, meanes and remedies, which if carefully made use of, are sufficient to hinder the first arising of Heresie, Schisme, or any other evill: and when they are risen to beate them downe, and abolish them: so that what ever cherisheth these mischiefes, and is a powerfull instrument to preserve them safe, that none with any power, with any authority, for any purpose, may get them touched, that must be much opposite to the Spirit of God, and good of the Church: But, such is Independencie, as both reason and experience will prove. Behold first severall Churches: Suppose, which too oft hath fallen out, that the Pastor becomes a pernicious Hereticke; let him beginne with the venome of his Doctrine to poyson the hearts of his people, what shall be the remedie? Independency bindes the hands of Presbyteries and Synods. Pastors of Neighbouring Congregations, have no power to binde, or expell that ravenous wolfe: in the destroyed flocke there is no Pastor, but the wolfe himselfe. Be it so that the people in their judgement of discretion perceive well enough the wickednesse of the false doctrine whereby they are corrupted; yet the office, charge, and authority to cure their Pastors disease, lyeth not on them. *The Spirits of the Prophets are subject to the Prophets:*

Prophets: the Paſtor is not to be proceeded againſt with cenſure by the people of his flocke: for ſo the order which God hath eſtabliſhed in his Church, ſhould be inverted, if they whom he hath commanded to obey ſhould rule: and they whom he hath ſet above and over the flocke, ſhould be under it. Further, Suppoſe the Paſtor to be moſt gracious, what if the flocke, or the greater part of the flocke become ſo wicked as to abuſe their Paſtor, or to abuſe the moſt godly of the Congregation? What if a wicked ſpirit of Hereſie, Schiſme, or Tyranny, ſet the moſt part of the flocke againſt God, againſt their gracious Paſtor, and the godly of the flocke: what ſhall be done in this pitifull, and very poſſible, yea, oft contingent caſe? *Independency* cloſeth the doore of the troubled Congregation, that no man may goe out to crie for any powerfull helpe to Neighbours, though their kindled houſe ſhould burne them all to death; within there is no remedie: for all muſt goe there by the number of voices, and the moſt part oppreſſeth the beſt, the moſt wicked goe on againſt the Councells, the intreaties, the prayers of the reſt, and ceaſe not till they have either corrupted or caſt out their Paſtor, Elders, and all of their fellow-members who are conſtant in goodneſſe, that ſo their wickedneſſe without controle may domineere in the whole ſubdued Congregation. So long as Independencie ſtandeth, no effectuall authoritative or powerfull helpe can poſſibly be found for the preſervation of any ſingle Congregation againſt ruine and totall ſubverſion.

Further, Independency hazards the being of all Churches as well as of every one. For who ſhall hinder any member of a corrupted Congregation to infect all the Neighbour Churches with the poyſon of his doctrine and manners? If a ramping Lyon, a viperous Serpent, a crafty Foxe ſhould goe and devoure all the Limbes of the Neighbour flocks; Independency doth hinder any order to be taken with that limbe of Sathan; no ſword of cenſure can be drawne againſt him, he muſt be referred abſolutely to his owne Congregation: other Churches may intreate, adviſe, and pray him not to make havocke of them: but ſhould he trouble, infect, and deſtroy twenty, an hundred, a thouſand neighbour Congregations, no Eccleſiaſticke cenſure may paſſe upon him but by his owne Church: and when complaints of him come to his

owne Church, his misdeedes there are excused, defended, commended: his Heresies are proclaimed sound doctrine, his devouring of soules is declared to be zeale and painfulnesse to winne soules to CHRIST.

Our Argument is backed by experience, as well as by reason; The first Independent Church we reade of, was that company which Mr. *Browne* brought over from *England* to *Middleborough*; how long did it stand before it was destroyed by Independencie? when once Anabaptisticke novelties, and other mischiefes fell among them, there was no remedy to prevent the companies dissolution. When Mr. *Barrow* and his fellowes, assaied at *London* to erect their Congregation, the successe was no better: their Ship scarce well set out, was quickly split upon the Rocks: was soone dissipate and vanished. When *Johnstoun* & *Ainsworth* would make the third essay, and trie if that tree which neither in *England* nor *Zealand* could take roote, might thrive in *Holland* at *Amsterdam*, where plants of all sorts are so cherished, that few of the most maligne quality do miscarry: yet so singular a malignity is innate in that seede of Independency, that in that very ground, where all weedes grow ranke, it did wither: within a few yeeres new Schismes burst that small Church asunder: *Johnstoun* with his halfe, and *Ainsworth* with his made severall Congregations, neither whereof did long continue without further ruptures; Behold who please, with an observant Eye these Congregations which have embraced Independency, they shall finde that never any Churches in so short a time have beene disgraced with so many, so unreasonable, and so irreconcileable Schismes.

Neither the duties of charity, nor the authority of the Magistrate can remedy these evills.

Against these inconveniences they tell us of two remedies, the duties of charity, and the authority of the Magistrate; but the one is unsufficient, and the other improper. The duties of charitie are but mocked by obstinate Hereticks and heady Schismaticks: to what purpose are counsells, rebukes, intreaties imployed towards him who is blowne up with the certaine perswasion that all his errors are divine truthes, that all who deale with him to the contrary are in a cleare error, that all the advices given to him are but the words of Satan from the mouthes of men tempting him to sinne against God?

As

As for the Magistrate, oft he is not a Christian, oft though a Christian, he is not Orthodoxe, and though both a Christian and Orthodoxe, yet oft either ignorant or careleſſe of Eccleſiaſtick affaires; and however, his help is never ſo proper and intrinſecall to the Church, that abſolutely and neceſſarily ſhe muſt depend thereupon. Now all our Queſtion is about the ordinary, the internall, the neceſſary remedies which Scripture aſcribes to the Church within it ſelfe, as it is a Church, even when the outward hand of the Magiſtrate is deficient or oppoſite.

Our ſixth and laſt Argument: That which everteth from the very foundation the moſt eſſentiall parts of diſcipline, not only of all the reformed, but of all the Churches knowne at any time in any part of the world, till the birth of Anabaptiſme, it cannot be very gracious. But this doth Independency: The *Minor* is cleare by induction: That the Government of the *Scottiſh* Church by Synods, Presbyteries and Seſſions ſworne and ſubſcribed of old, and late by that Nation in their ſolemne Covenant; that the ſame diſcipline of the Churches of *France*, *Holland*, *Switz*, *Geneva*, as alſo the Polity of the *High Dutch* and *Engliſh*, and all the reſt who are called Reformed, is turned upſide downe by Independency, no man doubts; for this is our Adverſaries gloriation that they will be tyed by no Oathes, Covenants, Subſcriptions: they will be hindered by no authority of any man, no reverence of any Churches on earth, to ſeparate from all the reformed, that ſo alone they may injoy their divine and beloved Independency. Our laſt Argument. Independency is contrary to all the diſcipline that ever was knowne in Chriſtendome before the *Anabaptiſts*.

If you ſpeake of more ancient times, either the purer which followed the Apoſtles at the backe, or the poſterior impurer ages; that the Politie of theſe times in all Churches, Greeke and Latine, is troden under foote by Independency, all likewiſe doe grant: and how well that new conceit agreeth with the diſcipline practiſed in the dayes of *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles, or in the dayes of *Moſes* and the Prophets, the preceding arguments will ſhew. I confeſſe ſuch is the boldneſſe of the men, againſt whom we now diſpute, that although they glory in their contempt of the authority of all men, dead and living: yet they offer to overwhelme us with teſtimonies of a number, as well ancient as late Divines: But who deſire to ſee all that duſt blowne back in their own eyes

who raised it, and the detorted words against the knowne mind and constant practise of the Authors, clearely vindicated and retorted, let them be pleased to take a view, of Mr. *Pagets Posthume Apologie*, where they will finde abundant satisfaction in this kinde.

The first Objection or Argument for Independency from *Mat.* 18.

For the other side, a great bundle of arguments are also brought; we shall consider the principall. First: To whom Christ hath given the right of Excommunication the greatest of all censures, they in all other acts of Jurisdiction, and in all acts of Ecclesiasticke discipline, are Independent: But, Christ hath given the right of Excommunication to every Congregation, and to these alone. *Ergo, &c.* They prove the *Minor*. Unto the Church Christ hath given the right of Excommunication, *Mat.* 18. *Goe tell the Church, if he heare not the Church, let him be to thee as an Ethnick*: But every Congregation, and it onely, is the Church, because in the whole Scripture the word *Church* where ever it is not taken for the Church universall, or invisible, is ever understood of a single Congregation, which in one place with one Pastor serveth God. Answer. Passing the *Majors*, we deny the *Minors*, and affirme that nowhere in Scripture the word *Church* may be expounded of their Independent Congregation, and least of all in the alledged place; If we will advise either with the old or late Interpreters; or with the best or most learned of the Adversaries themselves, who affirme with us that by the *Church Matth.* 18. no Congregation can be understood, unlesse we would bring in among Christians most grosse anarchy, except we would set down on the Judgement-seates of the *Church* every member of the Congregation, men, women, young, old, the meanest and weakest part of the people to decide by the number, not the weight of their voyces the greatest causes of the Church, to determine finally of the Excommunion of Pastors, of the nature of heresie and all doctrine, and that with a decree irrevocable from which there may be no appeale, no not to an *Oecumenicke* Synod. Wherefore beside the rest of the Interpreters a great part of the Adversaries by the Church in this place understand no whole Congregation, nor the most part of any Congregation, but a select number thereof, the Senate or Officers who cognosce and discerne according to the Scriptures.

This

This is enough for answer to the argument: but if further it be inquired, the Senate of which Church is pointed at in this place, whether of a *Parochiall* Church, or Presbyteriall, or Nationall, or *Oecumenick*, or of all these. Ans. It seemeth that the Senate of all the Churches must here be understood, and especially of a Presbyteriall Church, at least not of a *Parochiall* onely and independently as our Adversaries would have it. By no meanes will we have the Session of a Parish prejudged, and are well content that the authority of *Parochiall* Churches to handle their owne proper affaires should be grounded upon this place; onely we deny that from this place a Church-Session hath any warrant to take the cognition of things common to it selfe with the Neighbouring Congregations, or yet to governe her proper affaires absolutely and independently so that none may attempt to correct her when she erreth, or by censure to put her in order when she beginneth by heresie schisme and tyranny to corrupt herselfe and others.

That in this place principally the Senate of a Presbyteriall Church is understood, is cleare; for of such a Church Christ here speaketh, as were the Churches at *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Corinth*; and others in the new Testament, which we proved before to have bin Presbyteriall. The Senate of such Churches attending on government and disciplin, is here called the Church, as elsewhere, *Act.* 5. 20. *It seemed good to the Apostles, Elders and whole Church.* The Church met to cognosce on the questions from *Antioch*, cannot be understood of all the thousand Christians at *Jerusalem*; it must then be taken for the Presbytery to which the cognition of such questions doth belong. In the fourth verse of the same chapter, *Paul* is said to *be received of the Church*, the word may well be expounded not of the whole Body, but of a select number thereof; even the Presbytery; as in the 21 he is said to be received of the Apostles and Elders, before the multitude had met together.

Only observe that however we affirme the Senate of a Presbyteriall Church cheifly here to be established, yet we understand not this in a way independent from Provinciall, Nationall, or *Oecumenicke* Synods; for all these meetings in their owne place and order, are also grounded on this passage, as before hath been declared.

Their second objection: The practise of the Church of

The second Obiection is taken from the practise of the *Corinthians*, excommunicating the incestuous man.

Corinth, approved by the Apostles is the due right of every Parochiall Church and single Congregation: But, the censure of Excommunication was the practise of the Church of *Corinth* approved by the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* 5. 12, 13. *Doe we not judge them that are within? therefore put away from you that wicked person.* This judgement is authoritative, and this putting away is the censure of Excommunication, cutting off from the body of Christ, which censure is here committed unto the *Corinthians*, Being gathered together in one, *vers.* 4. and so to them all, and every one of them: for to them all the Epistle is written, and not to the Presbytery onely. Answ. The *Maior* must be denied for two causes; First, The practise of the *Corinthians* was grounded not onely upon the expresse command of the Apostle, but also on the singular presence of the Apostles Spirit and authority with them in pronouncing the sentence of Excommunication against that incestuous person, *v.* 3. *I as present in Spirit have judged already.* This singular priviledge of the *Corinthians* is not a ground of common right to every Church who wants the authority of the Apostles expresse command and singular presence. Secondly, we may not argue from the Church of *Corinth* to every Congregation; for it is proved before, that the Church of *Corinth* was not Congregationall, but Presbyteriall, consisting of so many as could not meet commodiously in one private roome; also it had within it selfe a Colledge or Senate of many Pastors, Elders, and Prophets; to such a Church we grant willingly the exercise of all acts, both of Ordination and Jurisdiction.

The *Minor* also cannot be admitted but with a double distinction; the act of Excommunication is given to the Church of *Corinth*, not according to its whole, but according to the select part, to wit the Presbytery thereof. It maketh nothing against this that the Epistle is written to the whole Church; for what is written to the whole Church indefinitely, must be applyed according to the matter and purpose, sometime onely to the Pastors excluding the people: sometime onely to the people, excluding the Pastors: sometimes to both together, to Pastors and Flock. The first Epistle, *Chap.* 1. *vers.* 12. *Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas*; this cannot be taken of the Pastors, but of the people following Schismatically some one, some another

another of the Pastors. Likewise, *Chap. 4. vers. 1. Let a man so count of us as of the Ministers of Christ*, must be taken of the people, as *Chap. 3. vers. 12. (Now if any man build on this foundation gold, silver, precious stones)* is to be understood of the Pastors, as *Chap. 4. vers. 2. Also it is required in Stewards that a man be found faithfull*; but the most of the other places are to be expounded of both. Now that the preceding passages concerning the Church-censures, are not true of the whole Congregation, it appeares; for beside the absurdity of confusion & Anarchy, it would follow that very women have right judicially to Depose, and Excommunicate by their voyces their Pastors, which the very Adversaries professe to reject as absurd, albeit not congruously to their Tenets: for it is not reasonable that the right which from these places they ascribe to every member of the Church, should be taken away from women, upon this onely reason that in *1 Tim. 2. 11.* a commandement is given to the *Women not to teach, but in silence to learne*; for as the brethren of our Adversaries, the *Anabaptists* have marked, that place taketh away from women the publicke charge of Preaching, but not of speaking in judgement or giving their voyce in Church-judicatories. Surely nowhere absolute silence in Church-judicatories is enjoyned to women; we truely give the power of witnessing, and of selfe-defence as well to women as to men in all Church-judicatories. However that the censure of the incestuous man was not inflicted by the whole Church, it appeares from the *2 Epist. Chap. 2. ver. 6. Sufficient to such a man was the punishment which was inflicted of many.* Who were these many but the Officers who were set over the Church in the Lord?

Another distinction also would be marked, that whatsoever right we ascribe to the Church of *Corinth*, whether according to its whole, or according to any of its parts, whether we take it for a Presbyteriall or a Parochiall Church, all that right is to be understood not absolutely, nor independently, which here is the only question. For the Church at *Corinth* had no greater priviledges then the Church of *Antioch*. Now that in a dubious and controverted case, and in a common cause the Church of *Antioch* was subordinate unto a Synod, it was before proved.

Their third objection, That which the Holy Ghost gives unto the

The third Objection from the example of the seven Churches of *Asia*.

the seven Churches of *Asia*, must be the right of every single Congregation. But, the Holy Ghost gives unto the seven Churches of *Asia* all Ecclesiasticke Jurisdiction within themselves, *Revel.* 2. 2. *Thou canst not beare with them which are evill, and thou hast tryed them which say they are Apostles, and hast found them lyars.* And ver. 14. *I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam.* And ver. 10. *I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest the woman Jezabell to teach.* Here the Churches of *Ephesus*, *Pergamus*, and *Thyatira*, are praysed, when they proceeded with censure against those who deserved it: and are dispraysed when they held in the sword of excommunication, and did not cast out Hereticks and prophane persons.

Answ. Both the Propositions are vitious; The *Major* because the Churches in *Asia* were Presbyteriall, not Congregationall. This we proved of *Ephesus*: and we know no reason why the rest should not be of that same condition. Secodly, Albeit the Churches of *Asia* at that time in the first preaching of the Gospell, and so in the great paucity of Churches should have had no Neighbours with whom commodiously and ordinarily they could keepe society: what is that unto the Churches of our dayes, who live in the midst of many Sisters? The *Minor* also may not be granted; for that which the Text ascriberh to the Angell, may not by and by be applied to every Member of the Church. We grant that great reason and many authorities doe prove, and evince that the Angels in those places cannot be expounded of the single persons of Bishops, but of the whole body of the Presbytery, in the which there was one man chosen by the Suffrages of the rest President for a time; but that by the name of Angell should be understood every Member of the Church, no reason will carry it. Beside, there is no consequence from one act of reproofe to the whole right of Ecclesiasticke government even in every case; for a common cause and an appearance of errour and many other things will inforce a necessity of subordination.

The fourth Objection from the pratise of the Church of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse*.

Their fourth argument: The right of the Church of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse* belongs to every Church: But, the Church of *Thessalonica* and *Colosse* had right to exercise every part of Ecclesiasticke discipline within their owne bounds. Of the first, see *2 Thessalonians* 3. 6. *Withdraw your selves from every Brother which*

Which walketh disorderly; and ver. 24. *Note that man, and have no company with him that he may be ashamed.* Of the second, see *Col.* 2. 5. *Joying and beholding your Order.* Anſ. Let the *Major* be true of all the Churches of the ſame Species and Nature with theſe of *Theſſalonica* and *Coloſſe*, that is, of all Presbyteriall. That the Church of *Theſſalonica* was ſuch, that it had moe Paſtors, it is proved from 1 to the *Theſſalonians* 5. 12. *Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admoniſh you*: That theſe were Paſtors, it is the minde of the beſt Interpreters.

Alſo that in *Coloſſe*, beſide others, *Epaphras* and *Archippus* did labour in the word and doctrine, is manifeſt from chap. 1. ver. 7. and chap. 4. 17. Further, let the *Maior* be true of all Churches of that ſame ſtate and condition with thoſe named, to wit, when it falls out that few or no Neighbour Churches can be had with which ſuch a ſociety may be kept. Concerning the *Minor*, ſuppoſe that both the right and the exerciſe of all Eccleſiaſticke acts were granted to the foreſaid Churches, yet the queſtion is not touched except you adde independently and in every cauſe and caſe even of aberration, and that without all remedy of appeale to any Synod: Upon this hinge the queſtion depends, and of this the argument hath nothing.

Their fifth argument: That which aboliſhes our liberty purchaſed by Chriſts bloud, and puts upon our necke a yoke equall to the Antichriſtian tyranny of Biſhops, is intolerable: But, the dependence of Congregations upon Presbyteries and Synods doth ſo. Anſ. The *Minor* is falſe: for the ſubordination of Churches imports no ſlavery, & taketh away no liberty which God hath granted: it is Gods Diſcipline and Order, it is the eaſie yoke of Chriſt not to be compared with the cruell bands of Biſhops, ſince the one is humane, the other divine: by the meanes of the one, one man commandeth, either according to his free will, or according to the Canon-Law of the Pope: but by the meanes of the other, moe men adviſe in common according to the acts of the Reformed Churches grounded upon the Word of God: The judgement-ſeates of Biſhops are meerely externall to the Church which they governe: But, Presbyteries and Synods are Courts internall; for the onely members whereof they conſiſt, are the Commiſſioners of the Churches which they govern; theſe Churches

Their fifth obiection from the Epiſcopall tyranny of the Presbytery.

they represent, the minde and desire of these Churches they doe propose, unto these Churches they give account of all their administration, they confirme and establish the rights of Congregations, they doe not abolish nor labefactate any of them.

Their sixth objection from the Congregations right to elect their Pastor.

Sixthly, These who have power to chuse the Pastor, have also the right of the whole Ecclesiasticke Discipline. But every Parish hath that power. Answ. The *Major* is not necessary: for there is a great difference betwixt the Election of Ministers, and Ministers Ordination, Deposition, Excommunication, and many other acts of Discipline: Election is no act of Authority or Jurisdiction. The *Minor* also is not true, if you understand it of all the members of the Congregation: for it is not needfull that Ministers should be chosen by the expresse voyce of every man, much lesse of every woman of the flocke: Yea, That Election doth not alwayes belong to the whole flocke, except ye take election as many seeme to doe, for a consent with reason, to the which is opposed, not every, but a rationall dissent grounded upon cleare equity and justice: certainely it is needefull at some times to misregard the peoples consent in chusing of a Pastor; for why should not a flocke infected with heresie be set under an wholesome and Orthodoxe Shepheard whether it will or not? and be rent from under the Ministery of an hereticall Shepheard, how much soever against its owne minde?

Their seventh Objection from plurality of cures cast upon one Pastor.

Their seventh argument: That is not of God which maketh Pastors Bishops of other mens Dioceses, and layes upon them the care of other Congregations then those to which the holy Ghost hath made them Overseers: But, the subordination of Parishes to Presbyteries and Synods doth this. Answ. The *Minor* is false; for neither doth every member of a Presbytery become a Pastor to every Congregation subordinate to that Presbytery; neither are Congregations consociated and conjoyned in a Presbytery, altogether without the reach of the care and inspection nf neighbour Pastors. This is cleare, not onely by the arguments formerly deduced from Scripture, but by the daily practise of the Adversaries: for themselves professe their care to oversee, and admonish, and rebuke, and to use many other gracious actions as they have occasion, towards neighbouring Churches, without any blame of busie Bishops. There is almost no difference at all of

their

their acts and ours towards neighbouring Churches, so farre as concernes the matter; the onely question is concerning the fountaines and grounds of these acts, they ascribing their actions onely to charity, we not to charity alone, but to authority grounded upon the former reasons: This difference belongs not to the present plea.

Their eight Argument. Onely Christ hath authority over the Kingdome of God, the House of God, the holy *Jerusalem*, his owne Spouse, his owne Body. But, every single Congregation is the Kingdome of God, &c.

Their eight obiection from Christs immediate government of his Church.

Answ. Passing by the *Minor*; The *Major* is false and *Anabaptisticke*: for by the same reason the *Anabaptists* exempt from all authority both Ecclesiasticke and Civill, not onely every Congregation, but every single person, who are the members of Christ and his Spouse, and in whom the Kingdome of God doth dwell. The high and excellent stiles of honour which the Scripture gives not onely to whole Churches but to every particular Saint, exempts neither the one nor the other because of their immediate subjection to God and Christ, from the bonds and yoake of any authority, either Ecclesiasticke or Civill, which the Lord hath appointed in holy Scripture. Christs internall government of soules by his Spirit albeit never so immediate, taketh not away the externall administration of men either in Church or Commonwealth.

Who please to see much more upon this Question, let them consult with Mr. *Rutherford* his *Peaceable Plea*, with *Apollonius* and *Spanheim*, with the Author of *Vindiciæ Clavium*, especially with the Divines of the Assembly, their Answers to the Reasons of the dissenting brethren: of purpose I have abstained from making use of any of these Writings at this time, waiting for the *Independents* last Reply for their Reasons, and the Modell of their positive Doctrine which they have made the world to waite for too too long a time.

Chap. XI.

The thousand yeares of Christ his visible Raigne upon earth, is against Scripture.

The Originall and progresse of Chiliasme.

AMong all the Sparckles of new light wherewith our Brethren doe entertaine their owne and the peoples fancie, there is none more pleasant then that of the thousand yeares; a conceit of the most Ancient and grosse Hereticke *Cerinthus*, a little purged by *Papias*, and by him transmitted to some of the Greeke and Latine Fathers, but quickly declared, both by the Greek and Latine Church, to be a great errour, if not an heresie. Since the dayes of *Augustine* unto our time, it went under no other notion, and was imbraced by no Christian we heare of, till some of the *Anabaptists* did draw it out of its grave: for a long time after its resurrection, it was by all Protestants contemned; onely *Alstedius*, after his long abode in *Transilvania*, began in his last times to fall into likeing with some parts thereof, pretending some passages of *Piscator* for his incouragement. *Alstedius* Heterodox Writings were not long abroad, when Mr. *Meade* at *Cambridge* was gained to follow him: yet both these Divines were farre from dreaming of any personall raigne of Christ upon earth: Onely Mr. *Archer*, and his Colleague *T. G.* at *Arnheim*, were bold to set up the whole Fabrick of *Chiliasme*, which Mr. *Burrowes* in his *London* Lectures upon *Hosea* doth presse as a necessary and most comfortable ground of Christian Religion, to be infused into the hearts of all children by the care of every parent at the Catechising of their family.

The minde of the Independent Chiliaste.

Our Brethrens minde in this point, as I conceive, they have Printed, is this, That in the yeare 1650, or at the furthest, 1695. Christ in his humane nature and present glory is to come from heaven unto *Jerusalem* where he was crucified; at that time the heaven and earth, and all the workes therein, are to be burnt and purged by that fire of conflagration, mentioned by *Peter*, 2 *Epist. Chap.* 3. At the same time all the Martyrs, and many of the Saints both of the Old and New Testament are to rise in their bodies; the *Jewes* from all the places where now they are scattered

scattered shall returne to *Canaan* and build *Jerusalem*: in that City Christ is to raigne for a full thousand yeares; from thence he is to goe out in person to subdue with great bloudshed by his owne hand all the disobedient Nations; when all are conquered, except some few lurking in corners, then the Church of *Jewes* and *Gentiles* shall live without any disturbance from any enemy, either without or within; all Christians then shall live without sinne, without the Word and Sacraments or any Ordinance: they shall passe this thousand yeares in great worldly delights, begetting many children, eating and drinking, and enjoying all the lawfull pleasures which all the creatures then redeemed from their ancient slavery can afford. In this Earthly happinesse shall the Church continue till the end of the thousand yeares when the relicks of the Turkish and Heathenish Nations shall besiege the new *Jerusalem*, and Christ with fire from Heaven shall destroy them: afterwards followeth the second resurrection of all the dead, good and bad, for the last judgement. Thus farre the Independents preach and print: further *Cerinthus* himself went not, if you will except the Polygamy and sacrifices of the old *Israelites*. What truth may be in these things, let the arguments which are usually brought, either *pro*, or *contra* declare.

Against the mentioned Tenet I reason, first, He that remaines in the heaven unto the last Judgement, comes not downe to the earth a thousand yeares before the last Judgement. But, Christ remaines in the heaven unto the last Judgement. *Ergo*. The *Major* is unquestionable; the *Minor* is proved from the Article of our Creede, *From that place he shall come to judge the quick and the dead*, importing that Christ from the time of his ascention doth abide in the heaven at the right hand of the Father, and commeth not downe from that place to the earth till he descend in the last day to judge the quicke and the dead.

Our first reason against the Chiliasts, is, that Christ from his ascention to the last judgement abides in the heaven

I know they are not moved with the authority of any humane Creede; yet they would doe well to speake out their minde of this Article, as they doe of some others. Surely to say that Christ shall come from heaven in his humane nature, to abide a thousand yeares on the earth, and then to returne againe to the heaven, that he may decend the third time from the heaven in the last day to judge the quicke and the dead, is so evident a perverting of that

Article that Mr. *Mead* their great Doctor and leader in this Tenet, to eschew it, falleth into a very strange and singular conceit, wherein I doubt whether any of the Independents will be pleased to follow him; with all other Orthodox Divines he makes but two commings of Christ from the heaven to the earth; the first at the Incarnation, the second at the day of Judgement: but this day of Judgement he extends to a round thousand yeares, and this day to him is the onely time of the Millenary raigne. We need not refute this fancy; for the best arguments which are brought for it, are some testimonies from the Talmudicke Rabbins; and these, as I conceive, understood against the true sence of the Authors. The streame of Scripture and Reason runne more against this conceit then any other part of Chiliasme, as the most of the Chiliasts themselves will confesse.

However what I brought from the Apostolick Creed of Christ his aboade in the heaven till the last day, I prove it from Scripture, *Acts* 3.21 *Whom the heavens must receive till the time of the restitution of all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all the holy Prophets since the world began.* This place prooveth cleerely the aboade of Christs body in the heaven till the time of the restitution of all things. So much our Brethren grant, but they deny our assumption that the time of the restitution of all things is the last day; this therefore we prove not by the Testimony of all the Reformed, who unanimously bring this place as a maine ground against the Papists and Lutherans in the questions of Transubstantiation and Ubiquity, but by three reasons from the Text it selfe. First, that time here is understood when all things that are spoken of by all the Prophets, are performed: But, all things spoken of by all the Prophets, are not performed till the last day. Master *Burrowes* alleadgeance that all the Prophets are frequent and large upon the Raigne of the 1000 yeares, but rare and sparing upon the doctrine of the last Judgement and life eternall, might well have beene spared for the one halfe of it, and left to the *Socino*-Remonstrance; but suppose it were all true, yet if any of the Prophets have spoken any thing at all of the last Judgement, as the Apostle *Jude* puts it out of question even of *Enoch*, it is cleare that the time of the performing of all things, which any of the Prophets have spoken, cannot possibly exist before the last Judgement,

as

as we may see *Rom.* 8. ver. 21. compared ver. 18. 23. where the restitution of the creatures to their desired liberty comes not before the redemption of our bodyes, and the glory to be revealed upon the whole Church at the last day.

Secondly, the time here spoken of is when the *Jewes* to whom *Peter* did speake, were to be refreshed by the Lords presence; but this shall not be before the Generall resurrection: for the *Chiliasts* doe maintaine that all the *Jewes* shall not rise, neither that any of them to whom the Apostle did then speake, shall be partakers of the first resurrection, unlesse some of them who were Martyrs: for the honour and Glory of this first resurrection, the most of them make it so rare and singular a priviledge, that *Daniel* himselfe does not obtaine it but by a speciall promise.

Thirdly, The time when God doth solemnly before Men and Angels declare the absolution and blotting out of the sinnes of all his people, is not before the last day. But this is the time whereof the Apostle *Peter* speakes in the present place, as appeares by the 19 verse; *That your sinnes may be blotted out, when the times of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.*

Take but one other place for Christs aboade in the heaven till the last day. *John.* 14. 2, 3. *I goe to prepare a place for you, I will come againe and receive you to my selfe, that where I am there you may be.* Behold Christ goes to the heaven and comes backe againe but once for this very end, to take his Disciples with him, not to abide with them upon the earth, but to place them in the Mansions of his Fathers House in the Heavens, which he went to prepare for them, wherein all the time of his absence he himselfe was to remaine.

A Second argument we take from Christs sitting at the right hand of God. This errour how innocent soever it seeme to some, yet it perverts the true sence of sundry articles of our Creed, and forceth its followers to coyne new and and false sences to a great many Scriptures whereupon these articles were builded. This was the reason why neither *Piscator* nor *Alstedius* nor *Mead*, when they laide too fast hold upon some of the branches of *Chiliasme*, yet the bulke and roote of that Tree, Christs comming downe to the earth in his humane nature a thousand years before the last day, they durst never touch; But our Brethren have more venturous Spirits, they see much further then their Masters, they

Our second reason is builded on Christs sitting at the right hand of God till the day of iudgement.

they scruple nothing to make all these things popular and Catecheticke doctrine. The reason I spoke of, is this, Christ sits at the right hand of God till the last day. *Ergo*, he comes not to reigne on earth a thousand yeares before the Last day. The consequence is builded upon this Proposition, Christ sitting at the right hand of the Father is not in earth but in heaven, which many Scriptures prove. *Ephes.* 1. 20. *He set him at his owne right hand in heavenly places.* *Heb.* 1. 3. *He sat downe at the right hand of the Majesty on high,* *Heb.* 8. 2. *He is set on the right hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the heavens.* The antecedent I prove thus, *He sits at the right hand of God till all his enemies be made his footstoole.* So speakes the Psalmist, *Psal.* 110. 1. But all his enemies are not made his footstoole till the last day: for till then, *Satan*, *Sinne*, *Death*, and all wicked men are not fully destroyed.

Our third reason is grounded on the resurrection of the dead; the godly and ungodly doe all rise together at the last day.

Our third argument we take from the resurrection of the dead. All the Godly at Christs comming from heaven doe rise immediately to a Heavenly Glory. *Ergo*, none of them doe arise to a Temporall glory of a thousand yeares upon earth. The antecedent see in *Heb.* 9. 28. *Unto them that looke for him shall he appeare the second time without sin unto salvation.* Christ hath but two times of comming to the earth, first in weakenes to die upon the Crosse; The second time in glory to give eternall Salvation without distinction to all beleevers who looke for his comming.

Also 1 *Thes.* 4 14. *Them which sleepe in Jesus, will he bring with him.* *The Lord himselfe shall descend from heaven with a shout, and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meete the Lord in the ayre, and so shall we be ever with the Lord.* The ground of comfort which the Apostle propounds to the *Thessalonians* for all their dead, as well Martyrs as others, was their resurrection, not before the Lords comming with the voyce of the *Archangell*, but at that time when all the dead in Christ without exception doe arise, and none of them abide on the earth, but all are caught up in the ayre to meet the Lord, and all remaine with him eternally thereafter without any separation.

See also 1 *Cor.* 15. 22 *In Christ shall all be made alive, but every man in his owne order; Christ the first fruits, afterward they that are Christs at his comming: then commeth the end when he shall have delivered up the Kingdome to God.* The Apostle here speakes

of

of the Resurrection of all, and particularly of the Martyrs such as with the Apostle *dyed daily, and every houre were in jeopardy, and fought with Beasts*; although he professes to distinguish the diversity of order that might be in this great worke of the Resurrection: yet he affirmes that these who are Christs, doe not rise till his comming; and his comming he makes not to be till the last day, when Christ renders up his *Oeconomicke* Kingdome, having destroyed all his enemies, especially death, and fully perfected the worke of his mediation. This Resurrection is after the sound of the last Trumpet, when all the godly rise, and are changed, and put on incorruption and immortality, when death is swallowed up into victory, and the godly inherit the Kingdome of God; these things are done at the last day, not a thousand yeares before it, as *John. 6.* Christ avoweth thrice, in the end, ver. 39. 40. 44. *I will raise him up at the last day.* At that time the judgement is universall, both of the godly and wicked; and the execution of both their sentences is immediately by the present glorification of the one, and the destruction of the other, as we have it *Math. 25. 31. When the Sonne of man shall come in his glory, before him shall be gathered all Nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepheard devideth his sheepe from the Goats.*

Our fourth reason is builded on Christs Kingdome which is Spirituall and not earthly.

Fourthly, we reason from the nature of Christs Kingdome. The conceit of the thousand yeares makes Christs Kingdome to be earthly and most observable for all worldly glory: but the Scripture makes it to be Spirituall without all worldly pompe; neither doth the Word of God make the Kingdome of the Mediator of two kinds, and of a different nature, but one, uniforme from the beginning to the end. *Luke 1. 32. The Lord shall give him the throne of his Father David, and he shall raigne over the house of Jacob for ever, 1 Cor. 15. 25. He must raigne till he have put all things under his feete*; here there is but one Kingdome, and one way of ruling, a Kingdom meerely Spirituall, and no wise worldly. *Luke. 17. 20. The Kingdome of God commeth not with observation, neither shall they say, lo here, or lo there, but the Kingdome of God is within you. John 18. 36. My Kingdome is not of this world; if my Kingdome were of this world, then would my servants fight: but now is my Kingdome not from hence. Rom. 14. 17. The Kingdome of God is not meate and drinke, but righteousnesse, peace, and joy of the*

holy Ghost. Ephes. 1. 20. *He raised him from the dead and set him at his right hand in heavenly places, and hath put all things under his feete, and gave him to be head over all to the Church.* The *Millenaries* make his Kingdome to appeare in Armies and Battells, in feasts and pleasures, in worldly pompe and power, and will not have his Kingdome to stand in any of that spirituall power which since his ascention he hath executed on principalities and powers, or shall performe upon the soules of men, till these thousand yeares of worldly power and earthly glory visible to the eyes of men shall beginne.

Our fifth reason is taken from the nature of the Church.

We take our fifth argument from the nature of the Church: Scripture makes the Church of God so long as it is upon the earth to be a mixed multitude, of Elect and Reprobate, good and bad, a company of people under the crosse and subject to various temptations, a company that hath neede of the Word and Sacraments, of Prayer and Ordinances, that hath Christ a High Priest within the vaile of heaven interceding for them. But, the Doctrine in hand changes the nature of the Church, and makes it for a thousand yeares together to consist onely of good and gracious persons, without all trouble, without all Ordinances, without any neede of Christs intercession.

Which ever on earth is mixt of good and evill.

For the first, That Scripture makes the Church alwayes to be a mixed company, See *Matth.* 13. 40. *As the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Sonne of man shall send forth his Angels, and they shall gather out of his Kingdome all things that offend and that doe iniquity*: and *verse* 49. *So shall it be in the end of the world, the Angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the just.* Also, *Chap.* 24. 11. *Many false Prophets shall arise and deceive many, & because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall waxe cold, Luke* 18. 8. *When the Sonne of man commeth, shall he finde fayth upon the earth?* These places declare the mixture of the wicked with the godly in the Church to the worlds end, and most about the end.

And subject to crosses.

As for Crosses, See *Psal.* 34. 20. *Many are the afflictions of the righteous, Mat* 5. 4. *Blessed are they that mourne and that are persecuted for righteousnesse. Act* 14. 23. *By many tribulations we must enter into the Kingdome of heaven. Rom.* 8. 17. *If so we suffer with him, that we may be glorified together. 2 Tim.* 3. 12. *All that will live*

godly

godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. Heb. 12.6. Whom the Lord loves, he correcteth, and he scourgeth every child that he receiveth. Many such places shew the condition of the Church in this life that he is ever subject to tribulation.

Concerning Ordinances, that they must continue to the last day, See *Ephes.* 4. 11. *He gave some Pastors and Teachers for the perfecting of the Saints for the worke of the Ministery, for the edifying of the body of Christ till we all come to a perfect man.* And for the continuance of the Sacraments, 1 *Cor.* 11. 26 *As often as you eate this bread and drinke this cup, yee doe shew the Lords death till hee come.* Having neede of Ordinances.

That in the most godly while they live on earth, sinne doth remaine, and that alwayes we have neede of Christs intercession in the heaven with the Father, it is cleare from 1 *John* 1. 8. *If we say we have no sinne, the truth of God is not in us.* And *Chap.* 2. *ver.* 1. *But if any man sinne, we have an Advocate with the Father, Heb.* 9. 24. *Christ is entred into the heaven it selfe now to appeare in the presence of God for us.* Because of her sinfull infirmities.

Thus the Scripture describes the condition of the Church on earth: but the Doctrine in hand alters much the nature of it, for a great part of its time here: for of the 2650 yeares which they give to the Church from the comming of Christ to the last judgement, they make her to consist for a whole thousand yeares onely of godly persons, without the mixture of any one wicked; and all the millions who were borne in the Church in that large time, they are free from their birth to their death of all crosses, of all sorrowes, of all temptations, and as it seemes of all sinne also: for that is the time of the restitution of all things when old things are past and all things become new: They make them to have neede neither of Word nor Sacraments or any Church Ordinance, neither of Christs Intercession in the heavens with the Father; for they have him among them in the earth, and they are freed from all sinne and all misery.

A sixth Argument. Scripture makes the time of Christs second comming to be secret and hid, not onely to men, but to the very Angels, and to Christ himselfe as he is man, *Marke* 13. 32. *But of that day and that houre knoweth no man, no not the Angels which are in heaven, neither the Sonne, but the Father.* But this Doctrine makes A sixth reason from the secretsie of the time of Christs comming.

that day open, and tells the time of it punctually: for they make the thousand yeares to begin with the 1650 yeare, or else with the 1695, and the day of Judgement to be at the end of the thousand yeares; so if their count doe hold, every child in the Church might tell us that Christ will come to Judgement in the beginning of the 2651 yeare, or at furtheſt in the begining of the 2696.

A seventh, from the heavenly and eternall reward of the Martyrs.

A seventh Argument. The reward of the Martyrs is eternall life in the heavens, promiſed to them at Chriſts comming to judge the juſt and the unjuſt. *Ergo*, It is not temporall in an earthly Kingdome a thousand yeares. The *Antecedent* is proved from *Math.* 5.10. *Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted for righteouſneſſe, for theirs is the Kingdome of heaven.* 2 *Tim.* 4 6 *I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is neare: I have fought a good fight: I have finiſhed my courſe, henceforth is laid up for mee a crowne of righteouſneſſe, which the Lord the righteous Judge ſhall give at that day, &c.* The reward that *Paul* expects after his Martyrdome, is the Crowne which Chriſt at the laſt day gives to all that waite for his comming at that time when he takes vengeance on the wicked, as we have it 2 *Theſ* 1.6 7 8 9,10. where the reſt and retribution of the Martyrs, of *Paul* himſelfe and thoſe who at that time were troubled for the Goſpell, is ſaid to be at Chriſts *coming to take vengeance in flaming fire on all the wicked, and to be glorifyed in all the Saints, and admired in all them that believe*, which without all doubt is not before the laſt Judgement; and if it were otherwiſe, the Martyrs would be at a loſſe: for inſtead of a reward, a puniſhment ſhould be put upon them, their condition ſhall be made worſe then that of the common Saints, who during the time of the thouſand yeares remaine in the heavens among the Angels, beholding and injoying the Trinity, while the ſoules of the Martyrs are brought downe to the earth, and returne to a body, not like to the glorious body of Chriſt, nor unto theſe incorruptible immortall, ſpirituall bodies, which yet are promiſed to the leaſt of the faithfull at their reſurrection, 1 *Cor.* 15. but unto ſuch a body that eates, drinkes, ſleepes, fights, delights in fleſhly pleaſures, and converſes with beaſts and earthly creatures, in ſuch a Paradiſe whereof the Turkiſh Alcoran and the Jewiſh Talmud doth ſpeak much: but to a godly ſoule is very taſtles, and to a ſoule that hath been in heaven

heaven, or to one that enjoyes the presence of Christ, is exceeding burthensome and bitter.

An eight reason, the restoration of an earth'y *Jerusalem* brings backe the aboliſhe Figures of the Law.

An eight reason. The opinion of the *Millenaries* supposeth the restauration of *Jerusalem* and of the *Jewish* Kingdome after their destruction by the *Romans*. But, Scripture denies this, *Ezek.* 16. 53. 55. *When I shall bring againe the captivity of Sodome and her daughters, and the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, then will I bring againe the captivity of thy daughters in the midst of them. When thy Sister Sodome and her daughters shall returne to their former estates, and Samaria and her daughters shall returne to their former estate, then thou and thy daughters shall returne to your former estate.* The *Jewes* are never to be restored to their ancient outward estate, much lesse to a greater and more glorious Kingdome. *Jerusalem* was to be rebuilded, and the spirituall glory of the second Temple was to be greater then the first; and in the end of this same chapter, the restitution of the *Jewes* after the Babyloniſh captivity, by the vertue of the new covenant is promiſed; but the outward estate of that people was never to be restored to its ancient lustre more then *Samaria*, or *Sodome*, as *Amos* speakes of *Samaria*, *chap.* 5. 2. *The Virgine of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise. And* Isaiah *of Jerusalem, The transgression thereof shall be heavy, and it shall fall and not rise againe*, according to the Prophesie of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 49. 10. *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come.* Importing that the Tribe of *Judah* should ever have some outward visible rule till the comming of Christ in the flesh: but thereafter the Scepter and power of the Church should be onely spirituall in the hand of Shiloh the Messias: he was the substance and the body of all these Types, the restauration of *Jerusalem* and the erecting of the new Monarchy in *Judah*, for the *Jewes* were to bring backe the old evanished shadowes contrary to the doctrine and nature of the Gospell.

A ninth. Antichrist is not aboliſht till the day of Judgement.

One other reason. The *Millenaries* lay it for a ground that *Antichrist* shall be destroyed and fully aboliſhed before their thousand yeares beginne: but Scripture makes *Antichrist* to continue to the day of Judgement. 2 *Thes.* 2, 8. *Then shall that wicked man be revealed whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightnesse of his comming.* The brightnesse of Christs comming is not before the last day, as before is proved.

See also *Revel.*19.20. *The beast was taken, and with him the false Prophet; these both was cast alive into a lake of fire burning with Brimstone.* Compare it with *vers.*7. *Let us be glad and rejoyce, for the Marriage of the Lambe is come.* Antichrist is cast alive into the lake at the Marriage of the Lambe; no living men are cast into hell before the Last day; and Christs Marriage with his Church is not solemnized with a part of the Elect, but with the whole bodie at the generall resurrection.

The *Chiliasts* first reason is from *Rev.*20.4.

For the opposite Tenet divers Scriptures are brought; above all, *Rev.*29.4.5,6. *And I saw the soules of them that were beheaded for the witnesse of Jesus, and they lived and raigned with Christ a thousand yeares; but the rest of the dead lived not againe till the thousand yeares were finished; this is the first resurrection.* Hence they do infer Christs personall reigne upon earth for a thousand yeares; also the resurrection of the Martyrs, and of some others a thousand yeares before the generall resurrection: Divers such conclusions doe they draw from this place. We Answer, First, that the resurrection here is mentioned onely occasionally; also this place, as the most of this Book, is Mysticall and Allegoricall; besides, it is without all controversie, the words cited are among the most obscure and difficult places of the whole Scripture; the most of the places alleadged in the former arguments did speake of the resurrection purposely, and at large; also in proper termes, without any Tropes or Figures, and were all cleare without obscurity; it is not reasonable to bring an Argument from one place where a point is handled onely by the way and that in Mysticall and exceeding obscure termes, against a multitude of places wherein the matter is handled of purpose largely and clearely.

Answer. 1.

2. Secondly, they who from this place reason against the common Tenet, doe differ all of them among themselves in sundry materiall conclusions, the old Chiliasts from the late, and the late one from another. *Alstedius, Meade, Archer, Goodwin, Burroues, Matton*; every one of them have their proper conceits wherein they differ from the rest, as will be found by any who compare their Writings.

3. Thirdly, In all this Chapter there is not one syllable to prove Christs being upon the earth, but that one word of the Saints reigning with Christ. Suppose the Text had expressed that they who did

did reigne with Christ, had beene upon earth themselves: this would not prove that Christ (because they are said to reigne with him) was upon earth with them: for *Rom.* 8 17. *If children then joynt-heires with Christ, if so be that we suffer with him that we may be also glorifyed together.* There is here in one verse three paralell phrases with that in hand. *Heires with Christ, Suffering with Christ, Glorifyed with Christ*: and a fourth, *Ephes.* 1.3. *Who hath blessed us with all Spirituall blessings in heavenly places in Christ*: Will it hence follow that Christs humane nature was then upon earth with them who suffered with him, were heires with him, were blessed in him in heavenly places with all spirituall graces, and were to be glorified with him? if none of these foure phrases imply a personall presence of Christ upon earth with men, much lesse will the place controverted do it: for they speak expresly of men living upon the earth, but it speaks as expresly of the soules of men that were in the heaven: the same that are mentioned, *Revel.* 6.9. *I saw under the Altar the soules of them that were slaine for the Word of God.* This place then is so farre from proving Christs personall presence upon earth, that it imports the contrary, both because they that are said to reigne with him, were not upon the earth, but under the Altar in heaven; & also because in *ver.* 11, Christs Throne whereupon he judges the quicke and the dead, is mentioned after the reigne of these thousand yeares. Now we have proved from many Scriptures that Christ remaines in the heavens till he come downe in the last day to sit upon that Throne.

Fourthly, We deny that there is any thing in this place which imports a bodily resurrection. They can produce no scripture where the first resurrection is ever applyed to the body: there be sundry places to prove a spirituall resurrection of the soule, from the death and grave of sinne, of errors and corruptions, before the last resurrection of the body, *Col.* 2, 12. *You are risen with him through fayth*: also 3, 1. *If then yee be risen with Christ, &c.* But a first resurrection of the body no scripture intimates: for so there should be not onely a first and second, but a third resurrection, as they tell us of a first, second, and third comming of Christ to the earth. Further, the resurrection here spoken of is attributed to the Soules of them that were beheaded: these are not capable of

of a bodily resurrection, in propriety of speech: and if to these soules men at their owne pleasure without any warrant from Scripture, will ascribe a body, they fall into a great inconvenience: for their love to this imagined first resurrection of the body, they overthrow both the heaven and the hell which hitherto have beene beleeved: and make no scruple to create a new heaven and a new hell of their owne invention, to the dangerous scandall of all Christians.

Our new *Chiliasts* are inventors of a new heaven and of a new hell.

Master *Archer* seeing well the absurdity to bring a soule from heaven backe againe to an earthly condition, tels us plainely That no soule at all went ever to that which we call heaven: That the Soule of Christ at his death, and of the good theife went onely to an Elementary Paradise, a place below the Moone, in the region of the ayre, or at highest in the Element of the fire: That *Enoch* and *Elias* are gone no higher; That no soule of any of the Saints goes to the third heavens where Christ is, unto the last day. As for hell, he tells us that all Christians but the Independents his followers, have beene in an errour about it; he teaches that the hell whether the wicked now goe, is not that fire prepared for the Divell and his Angells, whether at the last Judgement they shall be sent: but only a place of prison in the Low region of the aire, or in some part of the Sea, where the soules of the wicked are kept till the day of Judgement: but at the day of Judgement, he tells us of a second hell, very large, and farre higher then the present heaven of the Saints, the whole body of the foure Elements, all the heavens of the Planets and fixed Starres, and what ever else is below the third heavens the habitation of God: he turns it all into the first *Chaos*, and makes all that confused body without any distinction, to be hell. In all this, the man is so confident, as if there were nothing in these strange novelties to be called in question.

Fifthly, we deny that in this place there is one syllable for any earthly Kingdome. They shall reigne with Christ, therefore they shall reigne with him upon earth: this is an addition to the Text. For, suppose the words did import a reigning upon earth, yet this would not inferre an earthly reigne: for the Kingdome of Christ is spirituall, like his Priesthood, and these two are here conjoyned, ver. 6. *They shall be Priests of God and of Christ, and shall reigne with*

with him. Christians on earth are Priests, but not to offer bodily sacrifice; and while they are upon earth they are Kings, but not to rule mens outward estates: for if so, then there should be all these thousand yeares many more Kings then Subjects. Master *Archer* tells us confidently without any scruple, that not the Martyrs alone, and some few priviledged Saints, as his Colleague *T.G.* would have it, but that all the godly without any exception, shall rise and be Kings to rule and judge the Saints, who shall be borne in the thousand yeares. Suppose it should be no disparagement for all these who then shall be borne, to be excluded while they live from all places of authority and power: yet would it not be some piece of disorder to have more Kings to command then Subjects to obey? for I suppose that the godly of all by-gone ages arising together will be many more then the Saints in any one age of these thousand yeares.

Sixthly, we deny that a thousand yeares in any propriety of speech, can be applied to Christs Personall reigne, for if we speak of his reigne either in his nature or Person, it is eternall, and not to be measured by any yeares or time; and if we speake of his regall office as Mediatour, it must be much longer then a thousand yeares; for although we should cut off from his Monarchy all the yeares that are past since his birth to this day, which were much against the current of Scripture, since all this while he hath beene sitting upon the Throne of his Father *David*, and ruling his Church as King and Monarch thereof: yet it were uncomely to confine the time of his reigne to come to a thousand yeares; this were too small an endurance for his Monarchy. Many humane Principalities, sundry States and Empires which have beene and this day are in the world, might contend for a longer continuance: for this cause it seemes to be that Master *Archer* the most resolute Doctor in this question that I have met with, makes the thousand yeares we debate of, to be onely the evening of Christs Personall reigne: but to the morning thereof wherein at leisure all the processes of the Last Judgement are gone through, he ascribes a great many more yeares, readily another thousand, and why not two or three or more thousands? It is good to be wise to sobriety: arrogant curiosity and presumptuous wantonnesse of wit, is detestable, though in the best men. 6.

Seventhly, the place makes Satan to be bound up onely from

seducing the Nations, that he should not be able as before the comming of Christ he was, to mislead the Nations of the whole world to Idolatry, a free doore then being opened to the Gospell in every Nation for their conversion to the truth; but our new Doctors extend the place much further; they will have Satan bound up for a 1000 yeares, not onely from seducing Nations to Idolatry, but from tempting any person to any sin; this is contrary to the se Scriptures which makes every Saint in all ages, to fight not onely *with flesh and blood, but with Principalities and Powers*: which makes Satan alwayes *to goe about like a roaring Lion seeking whom he may devoure*; and that so boldly that in the very presence of Christ, he doth seeke to winnow the best of his Disciples: yea, the place in hand gives to Satan in the very time of the thousand yeares so great power upon multitudes of men who never were sanctified, but ever his vassalls, led by him at his will, that he makes them compasse the holy City, and the Campe of the Saints to fight against God, till fire from heaven did destroy them.

Their second reason from *Daniel.* 12.

Beside this famous place, Master *Archer*, Master *Mattoon* and *T. G.* in his glimpse, bring a number of other scriptures for their Tenet, wherewith we neede not meddle: for Master *Petree* and Master *Hayne* in particular treatises have answered them all; only the chiefe of them, which Master *Burrows* in his treatise upon *Hos.* 1. is pleased to chuse out, we will consider. He builds much upon *Daniel.* 12. as if it did prove the resurrection of some of the godly to an earthly glory a thousand yeares before the last Judgement: he borroweth from the glimpse foure arguments, word by word; there is a fifth also in the glimpse, which the most of that party doe much insist upon; the first is taken from the second verse of the 12 chap. At the last Judgement say they, all shall rise, but, in that place, many doe rise, not all.

We Answer. 1.

Answer. We prove that the Prophet speakes here of the last resurrection, by two grounds which our Brethren will not deny. First, the resurrection unto life eternall is onely at the last day: but the resurrection whereof *Daniel* speakes, is expresly to life eternall; not that *prior* resurrection which our Brethren arme at, to a temporall Kingdome of a thousand yeares. Secondly, the resurrection of the wicked to eternall shame, is onely at the last day; for according to our Brethrens Doctrine, the wicked have no part of the *first resurrection*, and rise not till the thousand yeares

yeares be ended; now, the resurrection whereof *Daniel* speaks in *verse* 2. is expressely of the wicked to shame and death, as well as of the godly to life and glory. As for their Argument from the word *Many*, it proves not that all did not rise, but onely that these that did rise, were many and a great multitude. Therefore *Deodate* translates the words well according to the sence of the Originall, *The multitude of those that sleepe in the dust.* The Collectives *omnes & multi*, are sometimes Synonoms, according to the matter in hand; as *omnes* must sometimes be taken for *multi*; so *multi* must sometimes be taken for *omnes*.

Secondly, They reason from the third *verse*, that in the last resurrection the bodies of all the Saints shall shine as the Sunne: But, in the resurrection whereof the Prophet speakes, no body shines as the Sunne, but some as the Starres, others as the Firmament. Answ. The preceding *verse* evinces unanswerably, that the Prophet here is speaking of the last resurrection to life everlasting; as for the argument, it doth not follow that they who here are said to have so much glory, may not elsewhere be said to have more; for that which here the Prophet intends to expresse is not the absolute but the comparative glory of the Saints; however the least disciple should shine as the Sunne, yet if ye compare his glory with the greater light of an other, you may expresse the glory of both in the similitude of lightsome bodies lesse glorious then the Sunne, if so these bodies differ one from another in degrees of glory; for all that the Prophet here aimes at, is onely this difference of glory. Christ in the Gospell makes all the Saints to shine as the Sunne, yet the Apostle 1 *Cor.* 15. 45. distinguishing the different degrees of glory that is among the Saints, scruples not to expresse the glory of the most of them in the similitude of bodies lesse glorious then the Sunne; *There is one glory of the Sunne, another glory of the Moone, another of the Starres; for one Starre differeth from another Starre in glory; so also is the resurrection from the dead.* Further, will our Brethren affirme that the bodies of the Saints on earth during the time of those thousand yeares, shall be so farre changed, as to shine like the Starres, and yet to eate, drinke, and sleepe? so much glory can hardly stand with so much baseneſſe. 2.

Thirdly, they reason from the fourth *verse*; The last resurre-

ction is no mystery nor any secret to be sealed up to the end of the vision. But, the resurrection here spoken of, is such a mystery as must be sealed up.

Answer, First, according to Mr. *Burroughes* expresse profession in the same place, the Argument may be inverted; for the first resurrection to the thousand yeares of glory, he makes a Doctrine very well knowne and much insisted upon by all the Prophets before Christ; but the *Generall* resurrection and life everlasting he makes to be a hid and secret Doctrine which the Prophets in the old Testament doe scarcely touch. Secondly, Life eternall and death eternall, heaven and hell, are to this day very great mysteries to the most of the world: and Scriptures concerning *these*, are hid and closed above any other. Thirdly, The words speake not onely of the resurrection, but of the whole preceding Prophesie, especially of the peoples deliverance by *Michael* the Prince from the oppression of *Antiochus*, which was not much to be understood till it came to passe.

4 Fourthly, They reason from the last *verse*, Life eternall is common to all the Saints, and no singular priviledge of *Daniels*. But, the resurrection here spoken of, is promised to *Daniel* as a singular favour.

Answer, Mr. *Archer* who is deepest learned in these mysteries, affirmes, That all the godly as well as *Daniel*, had their part in the first resurrection; and indeede, if once you begin to distinguish, it will be hard to finde satisfactory grounds to give this glory to *Daniel*, and to deny it to *David*, to *Moses*, to *Abraham* and many others. Secondly, We may well say that life eternall albeit *common* to all the Saints, yet is so divine, so rare and singular a mercy to every one that gets it, that it may be propounded to *Daniel* and every Saint as a soveraigne comfort against the bitternesse of all their troubles. Thirdly, The place according to the best Interpreters, speaks nothing at all of any resurrection; only it imports a promise to *Daniel* to live in peace all his dayes, that notwithstanding all the troubles of the Church which he saw in these visions (as *Diodate* translates it) yet so farre as concerned himselfe he should goe on to his end, and rest, stand or continue in his present honours and prosperous condition to his death, and the end of his dayes.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, from the 11. and 12. *verſe* they conclude peremptorily the beginning of theſe thouſand yeares to be in the yeare 1650, or at furtheſt 1695; for they make the 1290 dayes to be ſo many yeares, and the 1335 dayes to be 45 yeares more: theſe they make to beginne in the raigne of *Julian* the Apoſtate who after *Conſtantine's* death, did re-eſtabliſh Paganiſme in the Empire, and encouraged the *Jewes* to build the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, till God hindred them by an Earthquake which did caſt up the foundation-ſtones of the old Temple. Beginning their account at this time, the end of their firſt number falls on the yeare 1650, and of the ſecond on the yeare 1695. This is *Archers* calculation, which *T. G.* and others follow preciſely. 5.

Anſwer, We marvell at the raſhneſſe of men who by the example of many before them, will not learne greater wiſedome; if they needes muſt determine peremptorily of *times and ſeaſons*, That they doe not extend their period beyond their owne dayes, That they be not, as ſome before them, laughed at before their owne Eyes, when they have lived to ſee the vanity of their too confident Predictions: however, in this calculation, there ſeemes nothing to be found: neither the beginning, nor the middle, nor the latter end. If the thouſand yeares begin in the 1650 yeare, if Chriſt then come in perſon to the earth, what will keepe him from perfecting his Kingdome to the 1695 yeare thereafter? will he ſpend whole 45 yeares in warres againſt the Nations, before they be ſubdued to his Scepter? Secondly, What warrant have they to begin their account with the Empire of *Julian*? Did he ſet up *any abomination* at all in the Church of God? He opened againe in the Territories of his Empire the Pagan Temples, which by *Conſtantine* had been cloſed; by counſell and example he allured men to Idolatry; but he troubled not any Chriſtians in the liberty of their profeſſion, he did not ſet up idolatry in any Chriſtian Congregation: The Lord did quickly kill him and ſo prevented his intended perſecution of Chriſtians. But although it could be verified of him that he did ſet up the *abomination of deſolation in the Temple*: yet how made he the *daily Sacrifice to ceaſe*? he was ſo far from *this*, that to the uttermoſt of his power he laboured to ſet up againe the daily Sacrifice which ſome hundred yeares ceaſed. Scripture ſpeakes onely of *two* times wherein the

solemne sacrifice was made to cease, and the abomination of desolation was set up. First, by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and then by *Titus Vespasian*; but of *Julian* his making the sacrifice to cease, Scripture speakes nothing. That Story of the Earthquake whereupon Mr. *Archer* builds, albeit reported by some of the Ancients, seemes to be a great fable; Certainly, the application of it to Christs Prophesie of the Gospel, *A stone shall not be left upon a stone*, as if this had not been fulfilled till *that* Earthquake had cast up all the foundation-stones of the ancient Temple, is very temerarious. As the beginning and end of their calculation is groundlesse, so also the midst and the whole body of it is frivolous. What necessity is there to expound *dayes* by *yeares*, especially in that place where yeares are divided into dayes? In the very preceding words, *vers.* 7. the dayes here mentioned are expressed *by a time, times, and halfe a time*: can they shew in any place of Scripture that ever a *day* is put for a *yeare* where yeares and dayes are conjoyned, and a few yeares are extended in the enumeration of all the dayes that are in these yeares?

The words of the Prophet *Daniel* are cleare, if they be taken as they lie; but if they be strained to a Mysticall sense, they become inexplicable. The Lord is comforting the Prophet and the whole Church by the short indurance of the desolations which *Antiochus* was to bring upon them; for from the time of his scattering of the *Jewes*, and discharging of the solemne sacrifice, unto the breaking of the yoake of his Tyranny, it should be but three years and a halfe with a few more dayes: yea, unto that happy time when the plague of God should fall on his person, it should be but 45 dayes more. The History of *Josephus* and the *Maccabees*, makes the event accord with this prediction. Why then should we straine the Text any further to a *new sence* which neither agrees with the *event* nor with the *words*?

Their third argument.

Another place alleadged by Mr. *Burrowes* is *Psalme* 102. 16. *When the Lord shall build up Sion, he shall appeare in his glory*; As if this did import both the building againe of *Sion* and also Christs glorious appearance upon the earth.

Answer.

Answer. This place speaks of no such things; the ordinary Exposition of late and old Interpreters agrees so well with the contexture of the whole Psalme, that to drive it farther, were needlesse:

leſſe: the place ſpeakes of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, and of the earneſt deſire of the godly, at *that time* to have *Jeruſalem* and *Sion* then in the duſt, againe reſtored. This deſire of the Saints is granted, and a promiſe is made to them that *Sion* ſhould be againe builded, and that the Lord by this act of mercy ſhould get great glory. But for any third building of *Sion* after the dayes of the Meſſias, or for any perſonall raigne of Chriſt upon earth, no ſyllable in this place doth appeare.

His next place is *Rom.* 11. 12: *If the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminiſhing of them be the riches of the Gentiles; how much more their fullneſſe.* Their fourth place.

Anſ. There is nothing here for the point in hand; we grant willingly that the Nation of the *Jewes* ſhall be converted to the faith of Chriſt; and that the fullneſſe of the *Gentiles* is to come in with them to the Chriſtian Church: alſo that the quickening of that dead and rotten member, ſhall be a matter of exceeding joy to the whole Church. But That the converted *Jewes* ſhall returne to *Canaan* to build *Jeruſalem*; That Chriſt ſhall come from the Heaven to reigne among them for a thouſand yeares, there is no ſuch thing intimated in the ſcriptures in hand. Anſwer.

Maſter *Burrows* fifth place, is *Acts.* 3. 20, 21. *He ſhall ſend Jeſus Chriſt whom the heavens muſt receive unto the times of the reſtitution of all things.* Their fifth place.

Anſ. That theſe words are to be underſtood of Chriſts comming to the laſt Judgement, and not of his comming to any Temporall Kingdome on earth, we did before prove. Anſwer.

His ſixth place, is 2 *Pet* 3 10. 13. *But the day of the Lord will come as a Theife in the night, in the which the heavens ſhall paſſe away with a great noyſe, and the Elements ſhall melt with fervent heate: the earth alſo and the workes that are therein ſhall be burnt up: nevertheleſſe we according to his promiſe, looke for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteouſneſſe.* Their ſixth place.

Anſ. Firſt it would be remembred that our Brethren do adde among many other things, this alſo unto the Tenet of the old *Chiliaſt*, That before their golden age the earth and all things therein muſt be deſtroyed; That the earth wherein they are to reigne, that the Beaſts, Foules, Fiſhes, Trees and all other creatures they are to make uſe of in their thouſand yeares, are to be of new created. Anſwer.

XUM

ated, all the old creatures in their whole kinds being burnt to ashes, and destroyed.

2. We say secondly, That this place is miserably misinterpreted; for all that the Apostle is saying, is in answer to the scoffers cavill *verse* 4. requiring in scorne the performance of the promise of Christs comming, not unto this thousand yeares raigne, but *to the day of Judgement and perdition of ungodly men*, as the Apostle speaks expressely *verse* 7. Now, all the *Chiliasts* confesse that *this Judgement* and *that perdition*, is not till after the thousand yeares; so the burning of necessity according to their owne grounds, cannot precede, but must follow them.

3. Thirdly, the time whereof the Apostle speakes, is called *the day of the Lord*, the usuall description of Christs comming to Judgement; also the day that comes on the world *as a thiefe in the night*, which phrase oftentimes in scripture is attributed unto Christs comming unto Judgement, but is not true of his comming to the *Millenary* reigne; for the calculation of that time is so well knowne, that it is preached and printed to be at *such a yeare*, if not such a month or day. Also, this dissolving of the heavens and Elements with fire, is a concomitant of Christ his comming to the last Judgement, as is expressely intimated, 2 *Thes.* 1.8,9.

As for the words whereupon alone they ground their argument, *the new Earth wherein dwels righteousnesse*: As if these words could not be true after the last Judgement; no righteous man then dwelling upon the earth. If they had looked upon the originall, they would have seene the weakenesse of their collection; for the words runne thus, *We in whom righteousnesse dwells, looke for new Heavens and a new Earth.* The habitation of righteousnesse referring neither to the heavens nor to the earth, but to the godly and righteous persons who did waite for the performance of the promise of new heavens and a new earth, as our late annotations doe observe; And though you would read them according to our *English* Translation, yet that *inhabition* needes not referre to the earth, but to the heavens onely, as *Iunius* well observes. For it is not *in qua terra*, but *in quibus cœlis*: and our Brethren if they beleeve Mr. *Archer*, must referre the Pronoune not to both the Substantives, but onely to the one: for he teaches That during the thousand yeares no righteous soule inhabits the heavens

heaven: and thereafter, that no righteous soule does inhabit either the earth or the heavens wherein now the soules of the godly are, all these being turned into hell the habitation of unrighteous men and divels.

Mr. *Burrows* seventh place, *Isa.* 65. 21. *And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant Vineyards and eate the fruit of them*, and ver. 17. *Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, &c.* Hence concluding not onely a new heaven and a new earth for the *Millenary* reigne, but a planting of Vineyards, a building of houses: which cannot be after the day of Judgement. Their seventh place.

Anſ. First, Master *Burrowes* referres this place to the former passage of *Peter*; if therefore *Peters* new heavens and new earth must be understood of the *life to come*: *Isaiahs* new heavens and new earth must be understood of the same. Answer. 1.

Secondly, Its very new and harsh divinity to say that after the heavens have passed away with a noyse, and the earth with all the workes thereof are burnt up, that men shall plant Vineyards, and build houses upon the new earth: Therefore Master *Burrows* notwithstanding his argument and reference of *Isaiah* to *Peter*, seemes in that same place to retract and acknowledge that the *new heavens* and the *new earth* must be expounded by a Metaphor, and import no more then the doing of so glorious things by God for the Church, in the *latter dayes*, as shall manifest his glorious and creating power, as if he did make new heavens and a new earth. This is farre from the burning of the heavens and earth that now are. It is no more then what the Apostle *Peter* brings from the Prophet *Joel*: *Act.* 2. 19. *And I will shew wonders in heaven above, and signes in the earth beneath: blood and fire, and vapour of smoake; the Sun shall be turned into darkenesse and the Moone into blood.* All which *Peter* makes to be performed upon the day of the *Pentecost*. It is no more then that of *Haggay* 2. 6. *Yet once it is a little while and I will shake the heavens and the earth, and the sea, and all the dry land*: which the Apostle *Heb.* 12. 26, 27. makes to be performed at the first comming of Christ. 2.

Thirdly, That the matter of this 65. chap. of *Esa.* v. 16. is to be referred to Christs first comming, and the Apostles first preaching unto the *Gentiles* is cleare by comparing the first verse of this chap. *I am found of them that sought me not*, with the 20 ver. of the 3.

tenth to the *Romans*: *But Esaiah was very bold, and sayth, I was found &c.*

4 Fourthly, to expound the Prophets in this fashion, were to stumble the *Jewes*, and to give them too great an excuse for their long misbeliefe, and too pregnant arguments for to delay their faith while the Messias come to performe these promises upon earth, till their *Jerusalem* were againe builded, and they put in possession of the holy land, to build their houses and plant their Vineyeards therein; till they saw themselves put in possession of their present carnall & legall hopes. Yea, *T. G.* his literall exposition of this and the like places goes beyond the most of the *Jewish* apprehensions. For that any of the *Talmudists* doe dreame that at the comming of the Messias, the Lyon shall eate straw, that the Leopard and the Lambe, the Serpent and the sucking childe shall be brought to such a sympathy of natures, as not to have the least disposition to doe harme the one to the other: That the life of men shall be so much at that time prolonged, as one of an hundred yeares must be taken but for an Infant and a childe; that the most fabulous of the Rabins have gone thus farre in a litterall beleefe, I doe not know.

Their eight place.

His eight place, is *Heb.* 2. 5. 8. *For unto the Angels he hath not put in subjection the world to come: but now we see not yet all things put under him*; whence he inferres that Christ in the world to come, is to reigne and to have all things put under his feet, which is not now performed, the Apostle saying expressely that now all things are not put under him: neither is this true in the life to come: for then the Kingdom of *Christ* is rendred up to the Father.

Answer.

Anſ. *The world to come* is not that imaginary world of a 1000 yeares, whereof the Scripture speaks nothing: but the dayes of the Gospell of which the Apostle is there speaking, and shewing that the Gospell was administred not by Angels as the Law had beene upon Mount *Sinai*, but by the Sonne of God himselfe: This new world under the Gospell did differ more from the old world under the Law, then the earth in the dayes of *Noah* and the *Patriarchs* after the floud, from the earth in the dayes of *Noah* before the floud. This *new world* of the Gospell began with Christs *first comming* in the flesh: it was demonstrated in his Resurrection. *When all power in heaven and in earth was given to him*

Matth.

Math. 28. 18. *When all the Angells of God did worshippe him. Heb.* 1. 6. *When he was set farre above all Principalities and Powers. Ephes.* 1. 21. The accomplishment of this world is not till the Last day, when Death, Hell, and Satan, which yet are not made Christs footstoole, shall fully be conquered. These things connot be verefied of the thousand yeares. For according to Mr. *Burrowes* grounds, before they begin, many things are annihilated, and so not made subject; The heavens and elements are melted with fervent heate; The earth and the works thereof are burnt up with fire; Also, during these thousand yeares, Christs chiefe enemies are not fully subdued; death still hath dominion over men; the devill is onely bound, but yet alive, and not cast into the lake.

His ninth place, is *Jer.* 16. 17. *They shall say no more the Arke of the Covenant of the Lord, neither shall it come to minde, neither shall they remember it; at that time they shall call Jerusalem the throne of the Lord, and all the Nations shall be gathered unto it, neither shall they walke any more after the imagination of their evill heart.* Hence, he inferres, A state of the Church in the Last dayes so glorious, that all things by-past shall be forgot; That *Judah* and *Israel* shall returne from their captivity to *Jerusalem*; That all Nations shall joyne with them; That they shall no more walke after their old sinnes; That *Jerusalem* which before times was at best but the footstoole of God, shall then become a *throne* of glory. The ninth place.

Answer. There is no word here of Christs abode upon earth for a thousand yeares. Secondly, the *old things* that are to be forgotten, are expressed to be the *Ceremonies of the Law*, but no Ordinance of the Gospell. The Prophet names the Arke and the Temple which by Christs first comming were removed. Thirdly, The walking of *Judah* and *Israel* together, and the Nations joyning with them, Imports no more but the calling of *Iewes* and *Gentiles* by the Gospell to the Christian Church the heavenly *Jerusalem*: The same which the Prophet *Esay* hath in his second Chap. vers. 5. *The establishing (in the Last dayes) of the House of God on the top of the mountaines; the flowing of all Nations thereto; for out of Syon shall goe forth a Law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem*; These *Last dayes*, were the dayes of the Apostles, when they from *Syon* and *Jerusalem* did blow the Trumpet of the Gospell to all the Nations. These were the *times* whereof *Jeremy* Answer.

in the 15 verse of the *Chapter* in hand doth speake. *I will give you Pastors according to my heart, which shall feede you with knowledge and understanding.* The Pastors *there* promised were Christ and his Apostles; better Pastors then *these* God never sent, neither ever shall send to his Church. Fourthly, *Walking after Gods owne heart,* doth not import a freedome from all sinne; but onely a state of grace, wherein according to the new Covenant, God gives his people a new heart, and writes his Lawes upon the same. Fifthly, That whereupon the greatest weight of the argument is laid, seemes to be a very groundlesse conceit, That *Ierusalem,* when it is a throne of glory, must be the old *Ierusalem* builded againe; as if *Ierusalem* under the Law, and *Ierusalem* in the dayes of the Gospell (the Church in the new Testament, the mother of us all) were but the footstoole of God. This is a doctrine expresly against Scripture; for in divers pleases, *Ierusalem, Sion,* and the *Arke,* even in the old Testament, are called not onely the footestoole, but the throne of God, *Ier.* 14.21. *Doe not abhorre us for thy name sake; doe not disgrace the throne of thy glory.* Also *Chap.* 17.12. *A glorious high throne from the beginning is the place of our Sanctuary.* The Lord did as it were sit upon the Mercy Seate as upon a chaire of State, under the Canopy of the wings of the Cherubins within the Sanctuary the chamber of his most Majestuous presence. *Ierusalem* under the new Testament, is called not onely the throne of God, but his footestoole, *Esay* 40.13. *To beautifie the place of my Sanctuary, and I will make the place of my feete glorious.* This place our Brethren expound of the Sanctuary during the time of the thousand yeeres. However, it is cleare it must be expounded of the Church in the same times whereof *Ieremiah* speakes in his third *Chapter* whence the Argument in hand is brought.

Their tenth place.

The tenth place is *Dan.* 2.44. *And in the dayes of these Kings shall the God of heaven set up a Kingdome which shall never be destroyed, and it shall stand for ever.* Whence, is inferred an everlasting Kingdome of Christ, & a joy of *Ierusalem* unchangeable to any sorrow.

Answ.

Answ. Christs *Everlasting Kingdome,* is meerely spirituall and heavenly. That dominion which the Father gave to the Son at his Incarnation, *Luke* 1.32,33. *The Lord shall give unto him the throne of his Father David, and he shall reigne over the House of Jacob*

Jacob for ever. This Kingdome for the *matter* of it, is truely everlasting, being the glory which Christ and his Saints injoy for ever in the heavens; albeit for the *manner* of the administration thereof it be rendred up by the Sonne to the Father, when the worke of mediation is perfected, and all enemies are fully destroyed. To deny the beginning of Christs Kingdome over his Church, unto the thousand yeares, is many wayes absurd. And, because of the eternall indurance of his dominion and glory in the heavens, to make the Church on earth in which he raignes, to be voyde of all tribulation, of all changes, to have a perpetuall day without any darkneſſe, is contrary to the Scriptures alleadged in the former arguments.

In the eleventh place, he alledgeth *Revel.* 19. 13. *And he was cloathed with a veſture dipped in blood.* And *Ezek.* 21. 28. *And there ſhall be no more a pricking brier unto the houſe of Iſrael, nor any grieving them of all that are round about them.* Whence, they inferre That in the beginning of the thousand yeares Christ with his *owne* hands ſhall kill ſo many of the wicked, that his garments ſhall be dipped in blood, and not *one* of them left to trouble the Church. Their eleventh place.

Anſwer. It is a very ſtrange conception to make the Lord Jeſus embrue his holy hands in the blood of ſo many men. That theſe battells are not fought with the hands of Christ, in a *literall* way, will appeare by a paralell place, *Iſay* 63. 1, *Who is this that commeth from Edom, with died garments from Bozra?* Unto Christ here are aſcribed garments dyed in blood, becauſe of the ſlaughter of the *Edomites*, a little after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, at which time Christ had neither a body nor a garment in propriety of ſpeech. As theſe battells were fought by Christ, not in his *owne* perſon nor upon the earth; ſo neither theſe battells of the *Revel.* which ſo much the leſſe can be literally expounded, as in the 14 and 15 *verſes* of that 19 *Chapter*, the inſtrument whereby Christ is ſaid to fight theſe battells, is not any Sword in his hand, but the two-edged *Sword of his mouth*; and the Souldiers whom he leads out to theſe battells are not armed with Sword and Speare, but ride upon *white Horſes, cloathed in fine linnen white and cleane.* Anſwer.

As for that of *Ezechiel*, if you conſult either with the originall, or the beſt Interpreters, it muſt be expounded firſt and principally, if not ſolely of *the Towne of Siden* which the Lord was

to destroy, that it might no more be a thorne in the side of *Israel*.

From *this* to inferre the purging of the Christian Church of all other enemies in this life, and that by killing of them all as cursed *Canaanites*: were a dangerous conclusion, farre from the justice and innocence of Christians in all by-gone times, the beleefe whereof would quickly renew unto us the horrible tragedies of the *Anabaptists*.

The twelfth place.

In the twelfth place, he cites *Rev.* 21. 23, 24. *And the City had no need of the Sun, neither of the Moone to shine in it; and the Kings of the earth doe bring their glory and honour unto it.* Also chap. 22. ver. 1, 2, 3. *and he shewed me a pure river of the water of life, &c.*

Answer.

Ans. The Divines who apply these two chapters to the condition of the Church upon earth after the calling of the *Jewes*, take the most of the passages in a figurative and *Allegoricall* sence. To expound them *literally* and properly, of any Church on earth, the Text will not permit. Shall ever the Church on earth be so free of sorrow and death, as not to sorrow for sinne, or to have *none* of its members mortall? Shall they so immediately see the face of God, as the use of Temples, Tabernacles, or any ordinance, shall be needlesse? shall ever man upon *earth*, be without the Sunne and the Moone? These things are true in a *proper* sence, onely of the Saints of heaven. What is here alleadged to the contrary, That the Kings of the *earth* bring not their riches and honours to the Heavens; we say, it is but a part of the Allegorie, to expresse under that similitude the glory and wealth of the life to come; as in the same place, the Spirit of God expresses the happinesse of heaven by the Metaphors of gold and precious stones, of rivers and fountains, of trees and fruits. To expound all these in a *literall* sence, of any Church either in earth or heaven, were incommodious; except our Brethren would put us upon more fancies then any of them yet have spoke of.

Their last place.

In the last place they cite for the *gifts* of the Saints, *Zach.* 12. 8. *He that is feeble among them, in that day, shall be like David; and the house of David shall be as God*: and for the *honour* of the Saints that in the thousand yeares they shall be taken into private familiarity by Princes and great men, *Rev.* 11. 12. *And they heard a great voyce from heaven saying unto them, come up hither, and they ascended up to heaven in a cloud, and their enemies beheld them.*

Ans.

Anſ. The *gifts* meant by *Zachary*, are ſuch as are powred upon [illegible] all the Saints of the New Teſtament with the ſpirit of grace and ſupplication, which makes the *leaſt* of the Kingdome of Heaven to be like unto *David*, to *Eliah*, and *greater* then *John* the *Baptiſt*, as Chriſt ſpeakes. But what is this unto the imaginary glory of the *Chiliaſticke* Kingdome? The honour they ſpeake of, cannot be fetched out of that eleventh of the *Revel.* For who but themſelves will expound heaven in that place, of the Thrones of Kings, of the Privie Chambers of Princes and great men? The calling up of the *two witneſſes* to heaven, by none elſe but them will be taken for the Saints familiarity with great States-men: And according to their own Tenets, in the *Chiliaſticke* Kingdome there is no ſuch degrees of honour, as in this world. For there Chriſt in his owne Perſon [illegible] King, and all the Saints doe ſhine at leaſt as the firmament: and the glory of *theſe* Saints is greateſt whoſe grace is moſt eminent. Familiarity with Princes and worldly States-men is then for no purpoſe. Beſide, the aſcention of the *two witneſſes* to the heavens, is before the fall of the tenth part of *Rome*, and ſo before the thouſand yeares beginne.

There be yet ſome more places cited by Maſter *Burrowes* and others for their Tenet: but theſe which we have anſwered, are the principall: and if they be cleared, there is no difficulty in the reſt.

Beſides Scriptures, Maſter *Burrowes* takes from the Glimpſe of *T. G.* ſundry teſtimonies of antiquity; all which, *T. G.* doth borrow from *Alſtedius*. To the which I anſwer, That *no* Proteſtants build their faith upon humane teſtimonies: and, no men in the world make ſo ſmall account of *antiquity* as *our Brethren*. It is marvellous if in earneſt they ſhould encourage themſelves in their Tenet by ſuch teſtimonies of the Fathers, as by the Catholick conſent of all *poſterior* antiquity and the *unanimous* profeſſion both of Proteſtants and Papiſts this day, are cenſured of error.

Who pleaſes to know the minde of antiquity in *this* ſubject, Let him conſult eſpecially with *Auguſtine de civitate dei*, Book [illegible] almoſt through the whole: and the Commentaries of *Vives*, and *Cocquæus* thereupon. If humane authorities either ancient or moderne, could give our Brethren any ſatisfaction in this queſtion, it were eaſie to preſent them with great ſtore thereof.

The

FINIS.

A DISSVASIVE FROM THE ERROURS Of the TIME:

VVherein the *Tenets* of the principall *Sects*, especially of the *Independents*, are drawn together in one Map, for the most part, in the words of their own *Authours*, and their maine principles are examined by the Touch-stone of the *Holy Scriptures*.

By ROBERT BAYLIE Minister at *Glasgow*.

JER. 9. 3. *They are not valiant for the Truth upon the earth.*
JUDE ver. 3. *It was needfull for me to write unto you and exhort you, that you should earnestly contend for the faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints; for there are certaine men crept in unawares, &c.*

Published by Authority.

LONDON,
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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

FOR
The Right Honourable the Earle of *Lauderdaile* Lord *Metellane*.

YOur Lordship, I trust, will not bee displeased that your name is set before these Truths which your heart does love; and whereunto in the best companies of the whole Ile you have given at many occasions your chearfull countenance and zealous patrociny: in the study whereof I have been oft both encouraged and assisted by your Lordships pious, wise, and learned informations.

It has been of a long time the wish of my heart to have had nothing to do with Polemick writings; the bodies of souldiers are no more subject to wounds and manifold hardships, then the minds and names of disputant Divines do lie open to various vexations. The weary, starved, bleeding souldier longs no more for a safe peace, then a spirit harassed in the toylsome labyrinth of thorny debates, pants for that quietnesse which only the finall overthrow and full subjugation of errour can produce. How pleasant will that day be to the sonnes of peace, when the Lord shall make good that word which by the mouth of two of his ancient witnesses he has established, when according to the Testimony of *Isaiah*, syllabically repeated by *Michah*, we shall *beat our swords into plow-sheares, and our speares into pruning hooks, that we may walk together in the light of the Lord?* But so long as Divine Dispensation besets our habitations both spirituall and temporall, the Church no lesse then the State, with great numbers of daring and dangerous adversaries, we must be content, according to the call of the Prophet *Ioel* in another case, *to prepare warre, to beat our plow-shears into swords, and our pruning hooks into speares*; in this juncture of time the faint must take courage, *and the weak say I am strong*.

Isa. 2. 4. *Mic.* 4. 3.

Ioel 3. 9.

It seems that yet for some time the servants of God must earnestly contend for many precious truths, which erroneous spirits do mightily impugne: for the help and encouragement of others in that warfare, I, though among the weakest of Christs souldiers, doe offer these my endeavours. It was my purpose to have made a farther progresse, and to have handled all I mention in my Preface; but being cald away from my present station by these who set me therein, upon the occasion your Lordship knowes, my studies in this kinde are broken off: so that this essay in *Erastianisme* and *Independency* must go forth alone, or nothing at all.

My aym in these two is, and was in all the rest; First, in an historick way to set down the originall and progresse of the errour; next its compleat parts together in one table, that at one view the whole face of the way may be represented; for I conceived it many wayes advantageous and very satisfactory in debating either a truth or an error,

to be brought to see the fountain and originall whence it hath sprung, the streams and issues whither the Tenet tends of it selfe, or is drawn by its followers; to behold a way not in its pieces, but the whole together from the head to the feet, the begining, midst, and end without any concealment or disguise. Thirdly, my purpose was to have examined the principall parts of every errour in a short, cleare, and popular method, considering the maine Scriptures that use to be alledged in the point either *pro* or *contra*.

I beleeve this my method will not be displeasing to any. I know it was acceptable enough to many of the Congregationall way when lately I did use it against the Canterburian Faction; but possibly some of the matter of my historick part may fall out to be fashious to the followers of the Tenets which I labour to lay open; for it is unavoydable to make a true and a full narration of any erroneous way, but such things must be told which will be displeasing to some; yet I hope I have given as little offence in this kinde, as any other could have done in such a way of treatising; for all the passages that may be pungent of the tendereſt skin, are such, as not only I conceive to bee very true, but such also which I ever make presently good by sufficient Testimonies set downe fully at the end of every Chapter in the expresse words of the Authors. Secondly, the opinions or practises I alledge, are such as the parties themselves to this day do openly avow, or else have beene objected to them by very honest men long ago in print, and to this day, so farre as I know, are not taken off by any tolerable answer; in all that is over and above, I will undertake to give ample satisfaction wherein soever I give the least offence to any.

I dare appeale to your Lordships knowledge, and to many others who have beene acquainted with all my by-gone walking, how averse I have ever been from causing griefe to any, especially good men; so farre as I am conscious to my most secret intentions, it is my hearts desire that all our present controverſies might quickly either be ended or composed by calme, meek, and peaceable meanes, and these alone.

That lately renewed Committee for Accommodation. Oh if it might please the Lord to shine upon it, however I may not stay to see its successe; yet wherever I am, my best wishes shall be poured upon it, especially when I shall heare, as I have great reason to beleeve is only intended, that it abides circumscribed within the bounds of that prudent Order whereby it is renewed.

For first, that Order is so farre from holding out an Accommodation for all the sects of the Land, that it speaks only of the differences that are among the members of the Assembly. Liberty of Conscience, and Toleration of all or any Religion is so prodigious an impiety, that this religious Parliament cannot but abhorre the very nameing of it. Whatever may be the opinion of *Io. Goodwin*, of Mr *Williams* and some of their stamp, yet Mr *Burrowes* in his late Irenicon upon many unanswerable arguments explodes that abomination. Likewise our Brethren who seek to be accommodate, will be willing I hope to professe their going along with us, without any considerable dissent, as in the Directory for all the parts of divine worship, so in the confession of Faith and Catechism.

Secondly, the Order expresses only the differences in Church-government; what other opinions wee have mentioned in the following Treatise, I hope our Brethren will either disavow and passe from them, or else be content to bury them in their owne breasts, till time and better information make them die and vanish without more noyse.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the intent of the Order is to bring up the dissenting Brethren to approve of the Government agreed upon in the Assembly and allowed by both Houses of Parliament; or if that cannot be, to see how in some practises they may be forborn; This doth suppose that our Brethren shall not be permitted to print, preach, or publish any thing against the Government established by Parliament; also that in the practice of this Government they shall be obliged to joyne so farre with their Brethren as their principles may suffer. This being, I doubt not but in many things they shall be much forborn; for whatever be the unadvised rashnesse of some in their way, yet if they may be pleased, according to their frequent offers (as I remember) to be constant members of our Presbyteries and Synods, and there to give were it but their consultative voyce, I beleeve that few of them shall ever be pressed to much more; for if they agree among themselves, and governe well their owne Congregations, no controversie that concerns them will ever come before any superiour Assembly; and if any complaint of their male administration, or any matter of ordination or excommunication should come from them to be cognosced in a Presbytery or Synod, the result might ever be to them as a matter of advice to be executed in their own Congregations by their owne Pastors, if they did finde it right: or if it appeared wrong, the Generall Assemby, or at least the Parliament, would give them so much satisfaction, as on earth can be expected.

Albeit I am in opinion, that no case meerly Ecclesiasticall shall ever need to goe from a Generall Assembly to a Parliament; these two bodies are so friendly and neare of kin, that none who knowes their nature and constitution will ever feare their discord. I daresay, that all the jealousies which are presented to the Parliament of *England* of a Nationall Assembly, are meere Bugbeares and childish frightments, arising alone out of mis-information and unacquaintance; for both reason and experience will demonstrate that the Parliament of *England* cannot have on earth so strong pillars and pregnant supporters of all their Priviledges, as free Protestant Assemblies established by Law, and kept in their full freedom from the lowest to the highest, from the Congregationall Eldership to the Generall Synod of the Nation. No such Barres as these are imaginable either against Tyranny or Anarchy; they are the mightiest impediments both to the exorbitancy of Monarchs, which has been and is our misery; and to the extravagancy of the common multitude, attempting to correct and subject all Parliaments to their owne foolish desires, which is like to be the matter of our next exercise and trouble.

Protestant Assemblies examined to the bottom, will be found realll and cordiall friends to all the lust, Legall, and reasonable Prerogatives of a Monarch, to all the equitable and profitable Liberties of the meanest subject; but above all to every due priviledge of a Christian Parliament. Sometimes we laugh, sometimes we grieve to see men afraid out of meere ignorance with that which we know is their great good. I am perswaded that after a little experience, Congregationall Sessions, Classicall Presbyteries, Provinciall Synods, and Nationall Assemblies will be embraced and stuck to by the Parliament of *England* as the greatest and most usefull priviledges of their great Charter.

My fourth remark upon the Order in hand is, that it speaks alone of the questions of Government, whereby the Assembly was retarded, but nothing of the constitution of Congregations which never came to any considerable debate, much lesse

did

did ever retard the Assemblies proceedings: and albeit the words of the Order might be extended beyond the Government to the constitution, yet wee may not thinke that the House doth intend to tolerate the gathering of separate Congregations; in this point we hope that the desired accommodation shall satisfie our Brethren, and all tolerations shall be needlesse. Themselves are witnesses of our most earnest Desires, of our very reall indeavours, (and we wish, they had been much more our helpers and reall Assistants) for purging of all Congregations, so far as ever they have been in any time, in any place, for making them so void of ignorance and all scandalls, as Scripture or any reason can require: In these our earnest requests we trust the *Parliament* at last will shew us favour. But when the Assembly and *Parliament* have done their uttermost, to have the Churches purified so farre as is possible, if notwithstanding of all that can be done, our Brethren will yet separate, and peremptorily refuse to communicate as Members, in the best ruled Congregations, either of *England*, or of any other reformed Church; wee confesse, that by such a Declaration, our Brethren would put us to a great deale of perplexity; for such a separation as this, were as we conceive, the most palpable and unreasonable Schisme that ever yet was heard of in the Christian World, much contrary to the word of God, and evidently destructive to the necessary peace of all these Churches wherein it should bee tolerated; beside its cleare contradiction in termes, not onely to the Order of the House, but to the solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes. Notwithstanding wee trust that the grace and mercy of God, shall be so richly powred out upon this revived *Committee*, as shall enable them to expedit both us and our Brethren from these otherwise unextricable Labyrinths.

Would to God that our Controversies with them were brought to a happy period, that both they and we, with all our power might concurre to reduce the rest of our poore Brethren, who this day are pitifully intangled in manifold heresies and Errours, that so all the children of God being delivered from the snares and chaines of darknesse, might make it their great taske and only contention, who should honour most the name of their Father, by the fragrancy of their godly, charitable, humble, chaste, and sober conversation.

Your Lordship is conscious to the first designes of the Noble Patriots of that your Nation, it was never their mind to have trifled so much time in jangling with their Brethren of this Ile, about new and needlesse questions, but expecting a facility of setling truth and Peace within these Seas, their hearts were farther abroad, their thoughts were large for the propagation not of their owne but of Christs Kingdome, and that not so much in the Light as in the heat and life thereof. They have the more to answer who here and elsewhere have been the unhappy instruments, not only to frustrate these great and gracious enterprises for the Weale-publick of Christendome, but also to bring the undertakers to so low a condition, that they be obliged this day to God alone for any tollerable subsistence and their very being; albeit we are hopefull the Lord is reserving good things for them, who had so much Faith, charity, and Courage, as to venture all for the cause of God, and their Brethren; The more unkindmen have proved unto them, the Lord who hath been witnesse to all their intentions, actions and sufferings, will in his owne time accordingly reward them, and will not let them be ashamed of their first hopes and constant desires, upon the which himselfe for a long time did shine so evidently from the Heaven, as ever

upon

upon any enterpriſe on the Earth. Though now that brightneſſe be much eclipſed, and overclouded, yet we are expecting with paſſionate deſires, and confident hopes, the diſſolution of theſe clouds, and the diſpelling of the preſent darkneſſe, by the ſtrength of the Beames of his ancient and undeſerved kindneſſe, towards that now ſuffering and much diſtreſſed Nation.

But inſenſibly my pen hath runne beyond the bounds of a ſhort Epiſtle, albeit my experience of your Lordſhips readineſſe to diſpence with your friends indiſcretion, makes me ſecure of my pardon. I will detaine your Lordſhip no longer, I lay downe my Book at your Lordſhips feet, to be given to the world by your Lordſhips hand. If it be received with ſo much candor and charity by every Reader, as I know it is offered, it may poſſibly prove ſerviceable. Thus wiſhing to your Lordſhip in theſe dayes of deep and dangerous tryals, and too great defection of many, conſtancy, and daily encreaſe of affection to all Truth, Piety, Iuſtice, and every Vertue, I remaine,

London, Novemb. 19. 1645.

Your Lordſhips in all Chriſtian duty to be commanded.

R. Baylie.

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16 *Mr* Cottons *Letter to Mr.* Williams. 1643.
17 *The Anatomist anatomised by Mr* Simson. 1644.

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4 Plaine-dealing, *or Newes from* New-England *by* Thomas Lechford. 1641.
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The CONTENTS of the following Treatise.

The Preface.

The chiefe and first meane to extinguish the flames of our warre, is, the waters of our heart poured out in prayers to God, Page 1
Reformation after mourning, is the second step to a solid peace, 2
The corruption of the Church, is the fountaine of our present misery, ibid.
The State cannot be setled till the Church be first reformed, 3
Every man would help what he can to recover the languishing Church from her desperate disease, ibid.
The offer of a strange and easie remedy of a Looking-glasse, 4
The malignity of Errour, ibid.
The Authors intention is to set down in a Table for the clear view of all, the errours which trouble us, ibid.
And that with Justice and Love toward all persons, 5
The partition of the ensuing Treatise, 6
Episcopacy was the mother of all our present Sects, ibid.
Presbytery will be their grave, 7
The Presbyteriall way of proceeding, ibid.
What England *rationally may expell from* Presbyteries *and* Synods, 8

Chap. 1.

The originall and progresse of the Brownists.

Satan is the great enemy of the Churches Reformation, Page 9
His chiefe instruments always have been professed friends to Religion, ibid.
Reformation at the beginning did run with one impetuous current, ibid.
What was its first step, 10
The fountaine of Protestant discord, ibid.

The unhappy principle of the Lutherans, ibid.
And the more unhappy principle of the Anabaptists, 11
Somewhat of both these wayes was entertained in England, ibid.
The originall of the English Bishops *and* Ceremonies, ibid.
The originall of the Separatists, 12
Brownism *is a daughter of* Anabaptism 13
Bolton *the first known Separatist in* England *hanged himself*, ibid.
Brown *the second leader of that way, recanted his schism, and to his death was a very scandalous person*, ibid.
The humour of Barrow *the third master of this Sect*, 14
The strange carriage of Iohnson *and* Ainsworth, *the next two leaders of the* Brownists, ibid.
The horrible wayes of Smith *their sixth master*, 15
The fearfull end of Smith *his wandrings*, 16
Robinson *the last grave and learned Doctor of the* Brownists, *did in the end undermine his party*, 17
Robinson *the author of* Independency, ibid.

Chap. 2.
The Doctrine of the Brownists.

They hold that all Churches in the world, but their own, are so polluted, that they must be separate from, Page 20
Their injurious slanders of the Church of England, ibid.
Yet sometimes they say, that communion may be kept with her, both in preaching and prayer, ibid.
Their like dealing with all the other Reformed, 21
Their flattering of forraign Churches is not to be regarded, ibid.
The matter of a Church they make to be reall Saints only, 22
Their unreasonable strictnesse in this one point, is the great cause of their Schism, ibid.
They place the form of their Church in an expresse Covenant, 23
Seven may make a perfect Church, yea, two or three, ibid.
The erecting of a Church, requires neither the Magistrates nor Ministers assistance, ibid.
They put all Church power in a handfull of people, without any Pastor, 24
The Election, Ordination, Deposition and Excommunication of the Minister, belongs to his flock, and to it alone, ibid.

Every

Every man of the Congregation may preach, and publikely rebuke, not only the Paſtor, but the whole flock, yea, and ſeparate from it, 25
Some of them give the celebration of the Sacraments alſo to private perſons, ibid.
The ſolemnizing of marriage they give to Parents, but Divorces they commit to the parties themſelves, 26
They make every Congregation independent, and of Soveraigne Authority, ibid.
Their judgement of Synods, 27
Their high conceit of their own way, and injurious depreſſing of all others, ibid.
Churches, Bels, Tythes, Glebes, Manſes, and all ſet maintenance of Miniſters, are unlawfull; not ſo much as a Churchyard muſt be kept up for burial, but all muſt bury in the fields, ibid.
The dayes of the week, the months, the year of God, they will not name, 28
No Pulpits, no Sand-glaſſes in Churches, no Gowns, ibid.
All ſet prayer, even the Lords prayer, and all Pſalmes in meeter, yea in proſe, if uſed as praiſes, are unlawfull, 29
Their opinion of preaching and Sacraments, ibid.
Their ſtrange way of celebrating the Lords Supper, ibid.
They reject Catechiſmes, the Apoſtles Creed, and all reading of Scripture without expoſition, 30
After preaching they propheſy, ibid.
Then come their Queſtions, ibid.
After all, they attend a very tedious diſcipline, ibid.
Brown *is for liberty of Conſcience,* ibid.
His followers are againſt it, 31
Their carriage towards the Magiſtrate, ibid.
They ſpoyle Kings and Parliaments of their Legiſlative power, ibid.
They oblige the Magiſtrate to kill all Idolaters, ibid.
But to ſpare all Theeves, 32
They will have the Univerſities deſtroyed, ibid.
Secular Authors and Learning muſt be aboliſhed, ibid.
Preachers muſt ſtudy no other Books but the Bible, ibid.

Chap. 3.

The originall and progresse of the Independents, and of their carriage in *New-England*.

Independency *is the smalleſt of all the Sects of the time for number, but greateſt for worth of its followers,* 53
Independents *are the* Separatiſts *off-ſpring,* ibid.
When the ſpark of Brownisme *was dying out in* Holland, *a little of its aſhes carried to* New-England, *broke out there into a laſting flame,* 54
By what meanes theſe aſhes were kindled, ibid.
Mr Cotton *at firſt a great Oppoſite to that way,* 55
Mr Cotton *with little adoe, became the great Patron of that Errour,* ibid.
Mr Cotton *was the miſ-leader of Mr* Goodwin *and others,* 56
Mr Cotten *often deceived, hath given his patrociny to divers groſſe errours,* ibid.
Why God permits great men to fall in evident errours, ibid.
His Prelaticall, Arminian, *and* Montaniſtick *tenets,* 57
His Antinomy *and* Familiſm, ibid.
Independency *full as unhappy as* Brownisme, 58
Wherefore ſo much of the Independent *way lies yet in darkneſſe,* 59
The fruits of Independency *in* New-England, ibid.
Firſt, it hath put thouſands of Chriſtians in the condition of Pagans, ibid.
Secondly, it hath marred the converſion of Pagans to Chriſtian Religion, 60
Thirdly, it did bring forth the foulеſt hereſies that ever yet were heard of in any Proteſtant Church, ibid.
A few examples of the many abominable hereſies of the New-Engliſh Independents, 61
The greateſt part of their Churches were infected with theſe errours, ibid.
The piety of theſe Hereticks ſeemed to be ſingular, ibid.
Their malice againſt all who oppoſed them, was ſingular, eſpecially againſt all their orthodox Miniſters and Magiſtrates, 62
Their errours in opinion did draw on ſuch ſeditious practiſes, as did well neare overturne both their Church and State, ibid.

Their

Their proud obstinacy against all admonitions, was marvellous, 63
In the midst of their profession of eminent Piety, the profaneness of many of them was great, 64
Notwithstanding of all this we desire from our heart to honour, and imitate all and every degree of truth and Piety, which did ever appeare in any New-English *Christian,* 65

Chap. 4.

The carriage of the Independents in *Holland* at *Roterdam* and *Arheim,* Page 75

Independency *was no fruitfull tree in* Holland, ibid.
Mr Peters *the first planter thereof at* Roterdam, ibid.
Their Ministers, Mr Bridge, *Mr* Simpson, *and Mr* Ward, *renounced their* English *Ordination, and as meere private men took new Ordination from the people,* ibid.
They did quickly fall into shamefull divisions and subdivisions, 76
The people without any just cause deposed their Minister, ibid.
The Schesmes at Roterdam *were more irreconcileable then those at* Amsterdam, 77
Anabaptism *is like to spoile that Church,* 78
These of Arnheim, *admire and praise themselves above all measure,* ibid.
The easinesse of their banishment and afflictions, 79
The new Light at Arnheim, *brok out in a number of strange errors,* ib.
First, grosse Chiliasme, ibid.
Secondly, the grossest blasphemy of the Libertines, *that God is the Author of the very sinfulnesse of sinne,* 80
Thirdly, the fancy of the Enthusiasts, *in contemplating God as God abstracted from Scripture, from Christ, from grace, and from all his attributes,* ibid.
Fourthly, the old Popish Ceremonies of extream Unction, *and the holy Kisse of peace,* 81.
Fifthly, the discharging of the Psalms, and the appointing of a singing Prophet, to chant the Songs made by himself, in the silence of all others, ibid.
Sixthly, the mortality of the soule, ibid.
Seventhly, the conveniency for Ministers to preach covered, and celebrate the Sacraments uncovered: but for the people to heare uncovered,

uncovered, and to participate the Sacraments covered, 82
Their publike contentions were shamefull, ibid.

Chap. 5.

The carriage of the Independents at London, Page 90

The work of the prime Independents *of* New-England, Arnheim, *and* Roterdam, *these five years at* London, ibid.
They did hinder with all their power so long as they were able, the calling of the Assembly, ibid.
When it was called, they retarded its proceedings, 91
That the Churches of England *and* Ireland *lie so long in confusion, neither Papists, nor Prelates nor Malignants have been the cause,* ibid.
But the Independents *working according to their Principles,* 92
The great mischiefs of that Anarchy wherein they have kept the Churches of England, *and* Ireland, *for so long a time,* ibid.
Independency *is the mother of more Heresies and Schismes at* London, *then* Amsterdam *ever knew,* ibid.
Independency *at* London *doth not only bring forth, but nourish and patronize Heresies and Schismes, contrary to its custome either in* New-England *or* Amsterdam, 93
How hazardous it may prove to the State of England, 94

Chap. 6.

An Enumeration of the Common Tenets of the Independents, Page 101

Why it is hard to set down the Independents *Positions,* ibid.
They have declined to declare their Tenets, more then hath ever been the custome of any Orthodox Divines, ibid.
When they shall be pleased to declare themselves to the full, their principle of change will hinder them to assure us that any thing is their setled and firm Tenet wherein they will be constant, ibid.
The chiefe Tenets which hitherto they have given out, and not yet recalled, 102
They reject the name of Independents *unreasonably, and for their own disadvantage,* ibid.
When it is laid aside, the more infamous name of Brownists *and* Separatists *will inevitably fall upon them,* ibid.

They

They avow a Semi-Separation, *but a* Sesqui-Separation *will be proved upon them,* 103
The Independents *doe separate from all the Reformed Churches, upon far worse grounds then the* Brownists *were wont to separate of old,* ibid.
Their acknowledgement of the Reformed for true Churches, doth not diminish but increase their Schisme, ibid.
They refuse all Church Communion, and Membership in all the Reformed Churches, ibid.
They preach and pray in them as they would doe among Pagans; *only as gifted men to gather materials for their new Churches,* 104
About the matter of the Church, and qualification of Members, they are large as strict as the Brownists *admitting none but who convinces the whole Congregation of their reall regeneration,* 105
Beside true grace, they require in the person to be admitted, a sutableness of Spirit with every other Member, 106
But in this they are laxer then the Brownists, *that they can take in without scruple,* Anabaptists, Antinomians *and others, who both in life and Doctrine have evident blots, if so they be zealous and serviceable for their way,* ibid.
About the forme of the Church (a Church Covenant) they are more punctuall then the Brownists, ibid.
They take the power of gathering and erecting of Churches both from Magistrates and Ministers, placing it only in the hands of a few private Christians who are willing to make among themselves a Church-Covenant, 107
This power of erecting themselves into a compleat and perfect church, they give to any seven persons, yea, to any three; neither admit they more into a Church then can altogether in one place commodiously administer the Sacraments and Discipline, ibid.
The Independents *will have all the standing Churches in* England *except them of the Sectaries dissolved, and all their Ministers to become meerly private men, and any three persons of their way to be a full Church,* 108
Unto this Church of seven persons, they give all and the whole Church power, and that Independently, ibid.
Unto this Congregationall Church *alone, they give the full power of*

of Election and Ordination, of Deposition and Excommunication, even of all their Officers, and of the finall determination of all Ecclesiasticall causes, 109

The difference of Iohnson *and* Ainsworth, *about the power of the people and Presbyterie distinct one from the other, is not yet composed among the* Independents, ibid.

The common Doctrine of New-England *is* Ainsworths *Tenet, that the people alone have all the power, and may Excommunicate when there is cause, all their Officers,* ibid.

Mr. Cotton *the other year did fall much from them and himselfe towards* Iohnson, *teaching that the whole power of Authority is only in the Officers, and the people have nothing but the power of Liberty to consurre; That the Officers can doe nothing without the people, nor the people any thing but by the Officers,* 110

Yet that both Officers and people or any of them, have power to separate themselves from all the rest when they finde cause, ibid.

The London Independents *give more power of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction then the* Brownists, *unto women,* 111

Some of them permit private men to celebrate the Sacraments, ibid.

Brownists *and* Independents *doe perfectly agree in the point of* Independency, ibid.

If a corrupt or negligent Congregation doe not censure their own Members, all the Assemblies in the world may not attempt to censure any of them, though most apparently they did corrupt a whole Nation with the grossest Heresies, or most scandalous vices, 112

The point of Independency *is either the root, or the fruit of many Errours,* ibid.

To temper the crudity thereof, they adde to it three moderatig Positions, but for little purpose, ibid.

They grant the being of Synods, *but not of Classicall Presbyteries,* 113

Their Synods are meerly Brownisticall without all Iurisdiction, wherein every one of the people may voyce; also they are meerely Elective and only occasionall, ibid.

The Sentence of Non-Communion is Mr. Cottons *invention, to*

supply

supply that defect which themselves make in the Ordinances of of God, ibid.
It puts in the hand of every man a power to sentence all the Churches of the World, 114
It carries to the highest degree of Separation, ibid.
Their supply of the defects of Independency, *by the power of the Magistrate, was a remedy which they learned from the* Brownists, *but now they have cast it aside, denying to the Magistrate all power in matters of Religion,* 115
The Independents *doe advance their fancies, to as high a pitch of glory as the* Brownists, ibid.
They are the Brownists *Schollers in many more things, beside the constitution and government of the Church,* ibid.
They give to the Magistrate the Celebration of Marriage ibid.
Mr. Milton *permits any man to put away his wife upon his meere pleasure without any fault, and without the cognisance of any Judge,* 116
Mr. Gorting *teaches the wife to put away her Husband, if he will not follow her in any new Church way which she is pleased to embrace,* ibid.
They are against all determinations of the circumstances of Worship, and therefore all Church-Directories are against their stomacks, ibid.
The common names of the dayes of the week, of the months of the yeare, of the yeare of God, of many Churches and Cities of the Land, are as unlawfull to them as to the Brownists, ibid.
Tythes and set-maintenance of Ministers they cry down, but a voluntary contribution for the maintenance of all their Officers they presse to a high proportion, with the evident prejudice of the poore, 117
In their solemn Worship, oft times they make one to pray, another to preach, a third to Prophesie, a fourth to direct the Psalme, and another to blesse the people, ibid.
They make it a divine Institution without any word of prefuce, to begin the publick Worship with solemn prayer for the King and Church, 118
After the Pastors Prayer, the Doctor reads and expounds, ibid.

In preaching, they will be free to take a Text or not, as they finde it expedient, ibid.
After the Sermon, any of the people whom they think able, are permitted to propheſie, ibid.
All are permitted to propound in the face of the Congregation, what queſtions upon the Sermon they think meet, ibid.
About the Pſalmes they have divers ſtrange conceits, but the ſpeciall is their new Ordinance of a ſinging Prophet, who in place of the Pſalmes ſingeth Hymmes of his own making in the midſt of the ſilent Congregation, ibid.
They grant the lawfulneſſe of read Prayers in divers caſes; 119
They will have none to be baptiſed but the children of their own Members; ſo at one daſh they put all England *except a very few of their way, into the ſtate of Pagans, turning them all out of the Chriſtian Church, denying to them Sacraments, Diſcipline, Church-Officers and all that they would deny to the Pagans of* America, ibid.
They open a doore to Anabaptiſm *by three further Poſitions. Firſt, they require in all to be baptiſed a reall holineſſe above a feederall, which in no Infant with any certainty can be found,* ibid.
Secondly, they eſteeme none for their Baptiſme and Chriſtian education a Member of their Church, till they have entred themſelves in their Church Covenant; 120
Thirdly, they call none of their Members to any accompt before their Presbytery for obſtinate rejecting of Pædo-baptiſme, although the Browniſts *doe Excommunicate for that ſinne,* ibid.
They participate with none of the Reformed Churches in the Lords Supper, yet they ſcruple not to communicate with Browniſts *and* Anabaptiſts, ibid.
Their way of celebrating the Lords Supper, is more dead and comfortleſſe then anywhere elſe, 121
They have no catechiſing, no preparation, nor thanks-giving-Sermons; ordinarily they ſpeak no word of the Sacrament in their Sermons and prayers, either before or after, ibid.
They have onely a little diſcourſe, and ſhort prayer in the conſecration of both the Elements; thereafter, in the action nothing but dumb ſilence, no exhortation, no reading, no Pſalme, ibid.
They require none of their Members to come out of their Pewes to the

the Table, and they acknowledge no more use of a Table then the Brownists *at* Amsterdam, *which have none at all,* ibid.
They teach the expediency of covering the head at the Lords Table. 112
They are as much for the popular Government as the Brownists, ibid.
All Discipline must be executed in the presence and with the consent of the whole people, and all must passe by the expresse suffrage of every one, 123
Dissenters not only lose their right of Suffrage for the time, but are subjected to censure if they continue in their dissent, ibid.
They are much for private meetings for it is in them that they usually frame the Members of other mens Congregations into their new mould; but the Brownists, *and they of* New-England *having felt the bitter fruits of such meetings, have relinquished if not discharged them,* ibid.
They flatter the Magistrate, and slander the Reformed Churches without cause, 114
Some of them are for the abolishing of all Magistracy, ibid.
All of them are for the casting out, and keeping out of the Christian Church all Princes; all Members of Parliament, all Magistrates of the Counties and Burrowes that now are, and that ever have been, and are ever like to be hereafter, except a very few, 125
These few Magistrates which they would admit, have no security but by the errour or malice of a few, to be quickly cast out of the Church without any possibility of remedy, ibid.
When they have put all who are not of their minde out of the places of Magistracy, yea, out of all Civill Courts; the greatest Magistrates they admit of, be they Kings or Parliaments, they subject them all to the free will of the promiscuous multitude, ibid.
When Magistrates will not follow their new errours, they have been very ready to make Insurrections to the great hazard of the whole State, 126
Many of them deny to the Magistrate any power at all in the matters of Religion, ibid.
Their principles doe spoile Princes and Parliaments of their whole

Legislative power; they abolish all humane Lawes that are made and hinder any more to be made. 117
The Civill Lawes which Mr Cotton *permits men to make, binde no man any further then his own minde is led by the reason of the Law to Obedience.* 118
They put the yoke of the Judiciall Law of Moses *on the neck of the Magistrate,* ibid.
They give to their Ministers a power to sit in Civill Courts, and to voyce in the election of the Magistrates, and to draw from Scripture Civill Lawes for the Government of the State, ibid.
They offer to perswade the Magistrate contradictory Principles according to their own interest; in New-England *they perswade the Magistrate to kill Idolaters and Hereticks; even whole Cities, men, women and children.* 129
But here they deny the Magistrate all power to lay the lest restraint upon the grossest Idolaters, Apostates, *blasphemers, Seducers, or the greatest Enemies of Religion,* ibid.
No great appearance of their respect to secular Learning and Scholes, ibid.
Independency *much more dangerous then* Brownisme, ibid.

Chap. 7.

It is unjust scrupulosity to require satisfaction of the true grace of every Church-Member.

The Independents *prime Principles,* Page 154
Its unjust scrupulosity to require satisfactory assurance of the true grace of every Church-Member, 154
Their Tenet about the qualification of Members, is the great cause of their separating from all the Reformed Churches, though they doe dissemble it, 155
In this they goe beyond the Brownists, 156
The true state of the question, is, whether it be necessary to separate from a Church wherein we get no satisfaction of the true grace of every Member at their first admission? ibid.
For the negative, we reason first from the practice of Moses *and the Prophets, who did never offer to separate for any such reason,* 159
The causes of just separation were smaller under the Law nor under the Gospel, ibid.

Our second reason is from the example of Christ and his Apostles, who did not separate for any such such causes, 158
The third reason, It is impossible to finde true grace in every member of any visible Church that ever was, or shall be in the world, 159
The fourth. This satisfaction in the true grace of all to be admitted, is builded on four errours, 160
The fifth Argument. Their Tenet is followed with divers absurdities, 161
Cottons *reasons to the contrary answered,* 163
The first reason put in forme, ibid.
All the parts of it are vitious, ibid.
His second Argument, 168
His third Argument, 169
His fourth Argument, 170
His fifth, 171
His sixth, 172
His seventh, ibid.
His eigth, 173
His ninth, all his nine or twelve Reasons put in one, will be too weak to beare up the weight of his most heavy conclusion.

Chap. 8.

Concerning the right of Propheſying.

The state of the Question, Page 174
The first Authors of this Question, ibid.
The Independents *difference among themselves hereabout,* ibid.
That none but Ministers may ordinarily propheſie, we prove it first, by Christs joyning together the power of Baptism and the power of preaching, 175
Secondly, These that preach, must be sent to that work, ibid.
Thirdly, every ordinary Preacher labours in the word and Doctrine. 176
Fourthly, none out of Office, have the gift of preaching; for all that have that gift, are either Apostles, Evangelists, Prophets, Pastors, or Doctors; and all these are Officers. ibid.
Fifthly, no man out of Office might sacrifice, ibid.
Sixthly, all who have from God the gift of preaching, are obliged to

to lay aside all other occupations and attend that work alone, 177
Seventhly, the Apostles appointed none to preach but Elders, ibid.
Eigthly, the preaching of men out of office, is a meanes of confusion and errour, ibid.
The contrary arguments which Mr Cotton *in his Catechisme and Answer to the 32 Questions borrows from* Robinson, *answered,* 178

Chap. 9.

Whether the power of Ecclesiastick Iurisdiction belongs to the people, or to the Presbytery?

What is meant by Ecclesiastick Iurisdiction, 181
The state of the Question, ibid.
For the Negative, that the people have no power of Iurisdiction, we reason, First, The Officers alone are Governours, and the people are to be governed, 183
Secondly, the people have not the Keyes of heaven to binde and loose, 184
Thirdly, the people are not the eyes and eares in Christs body, for so all the body should be eyes and eares, ibid.
Fourthly, the people have not any promise of gifts sufficient for government, ibid.
Fifthly, the popular government brings in confusion, making the feet above the head, 185
Sixthly, the people have not the power of Ordination, 186
Seventhly, this power in the people, would disable them in their Callings, 187
Eigthly, this power of the people would bring in Morellius *Democracy and Anarchy in the Church,* ibid.
Ninthly, this power of the people will draw upon them the power of the Word and Sacraments, 188
Mr Cottons *ten contrary arguments answered,* 189

Chap. 10.

Independency is contrary to Gods Word.

God is the Author of the union and dependency of particular Churches, 196
Separation and Independency were the Anabaptists *inventions,* ibid.

From

From them Morellius *and* Grotius *learned the Tenet*, p. 197
The state of the Question cleared, ibid.
That single Congregations are not independent, is proved, First, from 1 Tim. 4. 14. 199
The second argument from the Apostolick Churches; which exercised full Iurisdiction; the chiefe whereof, if not all, were Presbyteriall and not Parochiall, 202
Our third argument from the subordination of the Church of Antioch *to the Synodat* Ierusalem, Acts 15. 205
Our fourth argument from the subordination of fewer to more, appointed by Christ, Matth. 8. 209
Our fifth argument from the evill consequents which reason and experience demonstrate to follow Independency necessarily and naturally, 212
Our last argument, Independency *is contrary to all the Discipline that ever was known in Christendome before the* Anabaptists, 215
The first objection or argument for Independency *from* Matth. 18. 216
The second objection is taken from the practise of the Corinthians *Excommunicating the incestuous man*, 218
The third objection from the example of the seven Churches of Asia. 220
Their fourth objection from the practise of the Church of Thessalonica *and* Colosse, ibid.
The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eigth objection, 223

Chap. 11.

The thousand yeares of Christ his visible Raign upon Earth, is against Scripture.

The Originall and progresse of Chiliasme, ibid.
The mind of the Independent Chiliasts, ibid.
Our first reason against the Chiliasts, *is, that Christ from his Ascention to the last Iudgement abides in Heaven*, 225
Our second reason is built on Christs sitting at the right hand of God till the day of Iudgement, 227
Our third reason is grounded on the Resurrection of the dead; the Godly

Godly and ungodly doe all rise together at the last day, 228
Our fourth reason is builded on Christs Kingdome, which is spirituall and not earthly, 229
Our fifth reason is taken from the nature of the Church, 230
A sixth reason from the secrecy of the time of Christs coming, 231
A seventh reason from the Heavenly and eternall reward of the Martyrs, 232
An eighth reason, the restoration of an Earthly Ierusalem *brings backe the abolished figures of the Law*, 233
A ninth, Antichrist *is not abolisht till the day of Iudgement*, ibid.
The Chiliasts *first reason is from* Revel. 20. 4. 234
Our new Chiliasts *are Inventors of a new Heaven and of a new Hell*, 236
Twelve other reasons of the Chiliasts *answered*, 237

THE PREFACE.

WHile the fire of War continues to scorch every one of these miserable Dominions, it is the duty of all compassionate Countrey-men to contribute the uttermost of their best endeavours for the extinguishing of these unhappy Flames, before the remainder of all our Churches and States be burnt down to ashes.

The first and chief Mean to extinguish the flames of our Warre, is the waters of the heart poured out in prayers to God.

Too much Oyl already hath dropped from many unhallowed Pens; the times now do passionately call for Waters; and them, the more cold and clear, the better, for quenching the thirst of this devouring Beast. Vinegar and Gall, though in the largest measures, whole rivers of Blood will not allay, but augment the heat of a Civill Warre: The most hopefull Peace-makers, from whose intermedling the greatest successe is to be expected, are they whose vessels are filled most plentifully with tears, to be poured out before the Throne of God.

The fire which this day prevails against us, which burns up not the flesh only, but the very bones of our Kingdoms, is from above: It is the Lord who *burns against Iacob like a flaming fire which devours round about*. When the scorching heat of the Sun drawes up the moisture from the grasse and corn, there is no remedy for the languishing fields, till the vapours ascend from below, and thicken in a cloud; then incontinent the burning beams are intercepted, the showres descend from above to refresh and renew the withered face of the parched ground. The most seasonable exercise of all who love the peace of *Jerusalem*, is to fill the aire with the exhalations of their spirits, with the perfumes arising from the kindled Incense of their Prayers; much of these holy vapours will hardly make up one cloud; wherefore many hearts would daily be breathing up together some store of that heavenly smoak. However for a time all our endeavours may seem to be quite evanished, and when we have gone out to behold much oftner then seven times, there may appear to our eye not so much as the smallest beginning of the least cloud; yet when the period of Gods appointed season is come, when *the three years and six moneths* are past over and gone, there will certainly arise a cloud, which, however at first very small, and no broader then a hand, yet will quickly become so big as to fill the heavens with voyces, and send down to

Lam. 2. 3.

ceeding great: None appeared so humble, so holy, so spiritual, and full of Christ, as they (*HH*): In their speech, nought but self-deniall (*II*): In their prayers, ravishing affections, and heavenly expressions (*KK*): All their singular opinions, were for the advancing of Free-grace (*LL*); for the glorious light of the Gospel; for the setting up of naked Christ on his Throne (*MM*).

Their malice against al who opposed them, was singular, especially against all their Orthodox Ministers,

Their malice towards all that dissented from them, was so extream, that they made the life of many, the most religious of their Neighbours, to be bitter and a wearisome burden to them (*NN*).

For their Ministers, some of them they adored: Master *Cotton* and Master *Wheelwright*, they set up as the onely true Preachers of the Covenant of Grace; they extolled them to the skies, avowing, that since the Apostles days, none had received so much Gospel-Light, as they (*OO*): But the rest of the Preachers, not onely all in Old-*England* (*PP*), but also all in *New-England*, except a very few, and most of all the best, the most zealous and Orthodox, even the instruments of their own conversion, were to them *Baals* Priests, Legall Preachers, Popish Factors, Scribes and Pharisees, Enemies to the Gospel, void of the Spirit of Grace (*QQ*).

and Magistrates.

Their contempt of the Magistrates was as great as of the Ministers: Their late Governour they professed was a true friend to Christ, and Free-grace (*RR*); but Master *Winthrop* their present Governor, and the most of the Magistrates, they proclaimed enemies of Grace, Persecutors, Antichrists, *Ahabs*, *Herods*, *Pilates*, whom God would destroy (*SS*). Their Preacher, Master *Wheelwright*, would exhort the people in his Sermon, to deal with the Magistrates as such remembring them how *Moses* had killed the *Egyptian* (*TT*).

Their Errours in opinion did draw on such seditious practises, as did wel neer overturn both their Church and State.

Their Heresies did bring on so dangerous seditions, as in a short time did put their common-wealth in a clear hazard of utter ruine (*VV*); for the Heretikes had drawn to their side, not onely multitudes of the people, but many of the ablest men for parts, in all Trades, especially the Souldiers (*XX*). They kept such intimate familiarity, and open correspondence with the most eminent men of the Land; Mistresse *Hutchinson*, and the late Governour, kept almost everyday so private and long discourse with Master *Cotton*, that made them conclude all was their own (*YY*),

and

and forced the wiſe Governour, Maſter *Winthrop*, to prevent their deſignes, to put the former Governour, and all that followed him, from their places in the generall Court, and to deſire him & the n to be gone, which was counted a reall, though a civill baniſhment out of their Land (*ZZ*) : Alſo to diſarm the moſt of that faction expreſly upon fear, leſt the Tragedy of *Munſter* ſhould be acted over again in *New-England* (*AAA*).

Maſter *Williams* told me, that he was imployed to buy from the Savages, for the late Governour, and Maſter *Cotton*, with their followers, a proportion of Land without the Engliſh Plantation, whither they might retire and live according to their own mind, exempt from the Juriſdiction, Civill, and Eccleſiaſtick, of all others. M. *Williams* was in ſo great friendſhip with that late Governour, when he told me ſo much, that I believe he would have been loth to have ſpoken any untruth of him.

Their obſtinacy in all theſe things was truly marvellous; for after all the pains which their godly Paſtors took upon them, in Preaching, in Conference, in Publick Diſputations: After the Magiſtrate had executed the Law, and inflicted civil puniſhments upon ſome of their prime Seducers; yea, when God viſibly from the Heavens had declared his anger againſt ſome of their chief Leaders, puniſhing Miſtreſſe *Hutchinſon* with a monſtrous birth of more then thirty miſ-ſhapen creatures at one time (*BBB*), and Miſtreſſe *Dyer* her principall aſſiſtant, with another monſtrous birth (*CCC*) of one creature, mixed of a Beaſt, of a Fiſh, and a Fowl: Notwithſtanding all theſe admonitions, their obſtinacy was ſo great that many of them continued pertinacious without any repentance (*DDD*).

Their proud obſtinacy againſt all admonitions was marvellous.

For ſome of them ſeparating of their own accord, others being baniſhed by the Magiſtrate, retired into thoſe Lands which Maſter *Williams* had bought for them; and in that their new Habitation they continued not long; till beſide all the named errours, they fell into many more, both Errours and Schiſms (*EEE*).

And Miſtreſſe *Hutchinſon* did make a new Separation, retiring to a new dwelling (*FFF*) where after her long contempt of divine and humane patience, at laſt God did let looſe his hand, and deſtroyed her, ſending in upon her a comany of the Savages, who burnt her ſelf, her houſe, and all that ſhe had (*GGG*). Notwithſtanding

withstanding all that God & man at that time & since hath done to discover the evill spirit that raged in that way, yet such is the stoutnesse of many, especially of the late Governour, whose hand in all that businesse was chief, that to this day if you will confer with them, they will assure, That Mistresse *Hutchinson* was much mistaken and wronged; that she was a most pious woman, and that her Tenents, if well understood, were all true, at least very tolerable. We have oft marvelled, that the Eldership of *Boston* did never so much as call her before them to be rebuked for any of her Errours; though their generall Assembly had confuted & condemned them, yet still she was permitted to go on, till the zeal of the new Governour, and the generall Court did condemn her to perpetuall banishment; then, and not till then, so far as we can perceive by the story, did the Church of *Boston* begin a processe against her; and when the processe was brought to an end, Master *Cotton* by no meanes would put it in execution; that burden was laid on the back of Master *Wilson* his Colleague, however not the fittest instrument, being the person to whom Mistresse *Hutchinson* from the beginning had professed her greatest opposition; and when the sentence was pronounced against her, they tell us, that the great cause of it was none of her Heresies or Errours, but her other practises especially, her grosse lying (*HHH*).

In the midst of their profession of eminent piety, the profanity of many of them was great.

The prophaneness also of these persons is considerable, their profession of piety being so fair, that they avow their standing aloof from all the Reformed Churches as unclean, because of their mixture with the prophane multitude. Beside all that is said of their Heresies, Schisms, Contentions, Contempt of Magistrates and Ministers, all which are the prophane works of the flesh: We read of further pollution, breaking out among them, as both Master *Cotton* and Master *Wells* do testifie (*III*).

Out of the Governour Master *Winthrop* Narration, I remark one abomination, which to me seems strange, That the Midwives to their most zealous women, should not onely have familiarity with the devill; but also in that very service should commit devillish Malefices, which, so far as they tell us, were not only past over without punishment, but never so much as inquired after (*KKK*).

All this and more, we read of the Independents in *New-England*, in one short Narration of two or three yeers accidents among

among them; what if we had their full History from any faithfull hand? it seems that many more mysteries would be brought to light, which now are hid in darkneſſe.

Notwithſtanding all this, we deſire from our heart, to honour and imitate all and every degree of Truth or Piety, which did ever appear in any *New-Engliſh* Chriſtian.

It is not our intention to bring any man to a prejudice, or the leaſt diſtaſte of the grace and gifts which God hath beſtowed on Maſter *Cotton*, or any other in *New-England*: would to God, that all our Queſtions with them, were come to that iſſue; they ſhould finde us here as willing as their greateſt admirers, to prize, to embrace, and as our weakneſſe will permit, to imitate what ever good did ſhine in any of them: But we have made theſe Obſervations from what themſelves have written, to bring if it be poſſible, their own hearts; or if this be deſperate, yet the mindes of others, to a ſuſpition of that their new and ſingular way, which the Lord hath ſo manifeſtly curſed with more bad fruits, and greater ſtore of them then ever yet did appear upon the Tree of Browniſm, which they do ſo much diſgrace as an unlucky Plant: notwithſtanding, all the gifts and graces wherewith *Ainſworth*, *Robinſon*, and ſome others of its Branches, have been adorned by God in as rich a meaſure as have been ſeen in any, who to this day have ingrafted themſelves into their new and bitter root of Independency.

The Teſtimonies.

(A) Maſter Cottons Letter to Skelton, p. 3. *Your other Errour that our Congregations in* England, *are none of them particular Reformed Churches, requireth rather a Book then a Letter to anſwer it. You went hence of another judgement, and I am afraid, your change hath ſprung from* New Plymouth *men, whom though I much eſteem as godly loving Chriſtians; yet their Grounds, which for this Tenent they received from Maſter* Robinſon, *doe not ſatisfie me, though the man I reverence as godly and learned.*

To Rathbones Narration, pag. 1. *The Church at* New-Plymouth *was as I am informed, one of the firſt Churches that was ſetled in* New-England, *having been a part of Maſter* Robinſons *Church in* Holland, *that famous* Browniſt, *from whence they brought with their Church Opinions and Practiſes; and which they there ſtill*

hold without any alteration, ſo far as ever I could learn. Maſter W. *an eminent man of the Church at* Plimouth, *told* W. R. *that the reſt of the Churches of* New-England *came at firſt to them at* Plimouth, *to crave their direction in Church courſes, and made them their pattern.*

(B) *Vide Purchaſe* Pilgrims in his diſcourſes of *America*, in divers Letters from *New-England.*

(C) *Cottons* Letter to the Reader before *Hilderſhams* Commentary upon *John*, 1632. That one Letter of his to a Gentlewoman againſt the Separation, which without his conſent a Separatiſt Printed, and Refuted, hath ſo ſtrongly and clearly convinced the Iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowledge in it, both the wiſedom of God, and the weakneſſe of the Separatiſts: His wiſdom in bringing to light ſuch a beam of his Truth by the hand of an adverſary, againſt the minde of the Author; and the weakneſſe of the other, to advance the hand of this Adverſary, to give himſelf and his cauſe ſuch a deadly wound in open view, as neither himſelf nor all his aſſociates can be able to heal; in which reſpect, I conceive it was that the induſtrious Doctor *Willet* ſtileth this our Author, *Schiſmaticorum qui vulgo Browniſtæ vocantur Malleus*: The Hammer of Schiſmaticks whom they commonly call Browniſts.

(D) *Vide ſupra.* A.

(E) *Edwards Antapology, p.* 17. Knowing ſomething of the ſtory of Maſter *Goodwins* firſt coming to fall off from the Ceremonies, having ſeen and peruſed the Arguments that paſt betwixt him and Maſter *Cotton*, and ſome others: Maſter *Goodwin* aſſured me ſome moneths after his going off, that he had nothing to ſay, but againſt the Ceremonies the Liturgy offended him not, much leſſe dreamed he of this Church-way he ſince fell into.

(F) Cottons *Letter from* New-England *to his friends at* Boſton, Octob. 5. 1635. *Some other things there be, which were I again with you, I durſt not take that liberty which ſometimes I have taken: I durſt not joyn in your Book-Prayers.*

(G) Ibidem. *I durſt not now partake in the Sacraments with you, though the Ceremonies were removed. I know not how you can be excuſed from Fellowſhip of their ſins, if you continue in your place. While you and ſome of my other friends continue with them, I fear the reſt will ſettle upon their Lees with more ſecuritie. The wiſe-hearted*

that

That left their Stations in Israel, *I doubt not, were some of them, if not all, useful and serviceable men in their places; yet they did themselves and their Brethren more good service in going before their Brethren, as the Goats before the Flocks,* Jerem. 50. 8. *then if they had tarried with them to the corrupting of their own wayes.* 2 Chron. 11. 14, 16.

Antap. pag. 32. *After his going into* New-England, *and falling into the Church-way there, and sending over Letters into* England *about the new way, presently after these Letters began the falling off and questioning Communion in our Churches.*

(H) Antap. p. 32. *One of you, to wit, Master* Goodwin, *was so ingaged in his thoughts of one of the Ministers of* New-England, *to wit, Master* Cotton, *by whom I am sure, he was first taken off, that he hath said, there was not such another man in the world again.*

Ibid. p. 22. *One of you told some friends, that he had found out a Form of Church-Government, as far beyond Master* Cartwrights, *as his was beyond that of the Bishops.*

Master Williams Examination *of Master* Cottons *Letter,* pa. 47. *Some of the most eminent amongst them have affirmed, that even the Apostles Churches were not so pure, as the new English Churches.*

(I) Vide supra. F.

(K) Antap. p. 40. *He hath had his Errours, and I refer you for proof to his discourse about clearing the Doctrine of Reprobation. See the* Preface *of Doctor* Twisse *his Answer.*

(L) *The short Story in the* Preface, par. 10. *What men they saw Eminent in the Countrey, and of most esteem in the hearts of the people, they would be sure still to father their opinions upon them, and say, I hold nothing but what I had from such and such a man.*

Ibid. pa. 65. *She pretended she was of Master* Cottons *judgement in all things.*

(M) Williams Examination, p. 12. *Some few yeers since he was upon the point to separate from the Churches there, as legal.*

Ibid. p. 33. *How could I possibly be ignorant as he seems to charge me, of their estate, when being from first to last in Fellowship with them, an Officer amongst them, had private and publick agitations concerning their estate with all or most of their Ministers.*

(N) *Short story,* Preface, pag. 7. *By this time they had to patronise them, some of the Magistrates, and some men eminent for Religion, Parts, and Wit.*

Ibid. p. 25. *Master* Wheelwright *had taught them, that the former Governour and some of the Magistrates then were friends of Christ and Free-grace, but the present were enemies. The former Governour never stirred out but attended by the Serjeants with Halberts or Carrabines, but the present Governour was neglected.*

Ibid. pag. 35. *After that she had drawn some of eminent place, and parts, to her party, whereof some profited so well as in a few moneths they out-went their Teacher.*

Ibidem, pag. 33. *Upon the countenance which it took from some eminent persons, her opinions began to hold up their heads in the Court of Justice.*

(N 2.) Ibidem, pag. 32. *It was a wonder, upon what a sudden the whole Church of* Boston, *some few excepted, were become her new converts, and infected with her opinions.*

Ibid. Preface, pag. 7. *In the Church of* Boston *most of these Seducers lived.*

Ibid. p. 36. *The Court laid to her charge, the reproach she had cast upon the Ministery in this Countrey, saying, That none of them did preach the Covenant of Free-grace but Master* Cotton. *She told them that there was a wide difference between Master* Cottons *Ministery and theirs; and that they could not hold forth a Covenant of Free-grace, because they had not the Seal of the Spirit.*

Ibidem pag. 50. *All the Ministers consented to this, except their Brother the Teacher of* Boston. Ibid. pag. 52. *Master* Wheelwright *being present, spake nothing, though he well discerned that the judgement of the most of the Magistrates, and near all the Ministers closed with the affirmative.* Ibidem, pag. 21. *Albeit, the Assembly of the Churches had confuted and condemned most of these new opinions, and Master* Cotton *had in publick view consented with the rest; yet the Leaders in these Erroneous wayes, stood still to maintain their new Light; Master* Wheelwright *also continued his preaching after his former manner; and Mistresse* Hutchinson *her wonted meetings and exercises; and much offence was still given by her, and others, in going out of the ordinary Assemblies. When (Master* Wilson*) the Pastor of* Boston *began any exercise, it was conceived by the Magistrate that the case was now desperate, and it was determined to suppresse them by Civill Authority.*

(O) Apologetical Narration, pag. 5. *We had likewise the fatal miscarriages and shipwracks of the Separation, whom you call* Brownists,

Brownists, *as Land-marks to forewarn us of these Rocks and Shelves they run upon.*

Cottons *Letter to* Williams, pag. 12. *I said that God had not prospered the way of Separation, because he hath not blessed it either with peace among themselves, or with growth of grace. The* Lord Jesus *never delivered that way of Separation to which they bear witnesse, nor any of his Apostles after him, nor of his Prophets before him. We do not come forth to help them against* Jehovah; *this were not to help* Jehovah, *but Satan against him. We cannot pray in Faith for a blessing upon their Separation, which we see not to be of God, nor to lead to him: It is little comfort to the true Servants of* Christ *that such inventions of men are multiplied.*

(P) Answer to the thirty two Questions, pag. 7. *Whether is the greater number, these that are admitted to Church-communion, or these that are not, we cannot certainly tell.*

(Q 1.) Plain dealing, pag. 73. *Here such confessions and professions are required, both in private and publick, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people of the Countrey remain out of the Church, so that in short time, most of the people will remain unbaptized.*

(Q 2.) Williams of the name Heathen, pag. 6. *Nations protesting against the Beast, no Papists, but Protestants, may we say of them that they or any of them may be called in true Scripture sence,* Heathens, *that is, the Nations or Gentiles, in opposition to the people of God, which is the onely Holy Nation? Such a departure from the Beast in a false constitution of National Churches, if the bodies of Protestant Nations remain in an unregenerate estate,* Christ *hath said they are but as* Heathens *and* Publicans.

(Q 3.) Plain dealing, p. 21. *There hath not been any sent forth by any Church, to learn the Natives language, or to instruct them in our Religion first, because they say they have not to do with them being without, except they come to hear, and learn English.*

(R) Williams of the name Heathen, pag. 10. *For our* New-England *parts, I can speak it confidently, I know it to have been easie for my self, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these Natives, yea, the whole Countrey to a far greater Antichristian conversion, then ever was heard of in* America. *I could have brought the whole Countrey to have observed one day in seven: I adde, to have received Baptism, to have come to a stated Church meeting, to have*

maintained Priests, and Forms of Prayer, and a whole form of Antichristian worship in life and death.

(S) Ibid. p. 12. *Woe be to me, if I call that conversion to God, which is indeed the subversion of the souls of millions in Christendom, from one false worship to another.*

Williams Key unto the language of America, p. 9. *To which I could easily have brought the Country, but that I was perswaded, and am, that Gods way is first to turn a soul from its idols, both of heart, worship, and conversation, before it is capable of worship to the true God.*

(T) Short story, p. 32. *Many good souls were brought to wait for this immediate revelation; then sprung up also that opinion of the indwelling of the person of the holy Ghost.*

Ibid. Preface, p. 13. *That their own revelations of particular events, were as infallible as the Scripture.*

(V) Short story, Preface, pag. 2. *Sin in a childe of God must never trouble him. Trouble in conscience for sins of Commission, or for neglect of duties, sheweth a man to be under a Covenant of Works.*

(X) Short story, Preface, p. 2. *A Christian is not bound to the Law as the rule of his conversation.*

(Y) Ibid. pag. 3. *No Christian must be pressed to duties of Holiness.*

(Z) Short story Preface, p. 13. *Their Leaders fell into more hideous delusions, as that the souls of men are mortall like the Beasts.*

(AA) Short story, p. 59. *These who are united to Christ, have in this life new bodies, and two bodies.*

(BB) Ibid. *She knoweth not how* Jesus Christ *should be united to this our fleshly body; these who have union with* Christ, *shall not rise with the same fleshly body; and that the Resurrection mentioned in* 1 Cor. 15. 44. *is not meant of the Resurrection of the body, but of our union here in this life.*

(CC) Ibid. p. 60. *We are united to* Christ *with the same union that his humanity on earth was with his Deity. That she had no Scripture to warrant that* Christs *manhood is now in Heaven; but the body of* Christ *is his Church.*

(DD) Ibid. Preface, pag. 1. *You shall see a Litter of ninety one of their brats hung up against the Sun, besides many new ones of Mistresse* Hutchinsons.

(EE)

(EE) Ibid. *Multitudes of men and women were infected before they were aware.*

(FF) Ibid. Preface, p. 7. *They had some of all sorts and qualities in all places, to defend and patronise them: Almost in every family, some were ready to defend them as the Apple of their own eye.*

(GG) Vide supra. N 2.

(HH) Short story Preface, p. 4. *They would appear very humble, holy, and spirituall Christians, and full of* Christ.

(II) Ibidem. *They would deny themselves far, and speak excellently.*

(KK) Ibid. *They would pray with such soul-ravishing affections and expressions, that a stranger could not but love and admire them.*

(LL) Ibid. *They lifted up their opinions by guilding them over with the specious termes of Free-grace, Glorius-Light, Gospel-Truths, holding out naked* Christ.

(MM) Vide supra. LL.

(NN) Preface, pag. 7. *O their boldnesse, pride, insolency, the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised among us, both in Church and State, and Families, setting division betwixt Husband and Wife!*

Ibid. p. 9. *And seeing a spirit of pride, subtilty, malice and contempt of all men that were not of their minde breathing in them, our hearts were saddned, and our spirits tyred.*

(OO) Ibid. p. 4. *Their followers in admiration of them, would tell others, that since the Apostles times, they were perswaded none ever received so much light from God, as such and such had done, naming their Leaders. See also before* H.

(PP) Short story, pag. 39. *She said it was revealed to her long since in* England, *That all the pack of the Ministers there were Antichristian, so that she durst hear none of them, after Master* Cotton *and Master* Wheelwright *were once gone; for they could not preach* Christ, *and the new Covenant.*

(QQ) Preface, pag. 8. *The faithfull Ministers of* Christ *must have dung cast in their faces, and be no better then legall Preachers, Baals Priests, Popish Factors, Scribes, Pharisees, and Opposers of* Christ *himself.*

(RR) Vide supra. N 1.

(SS) Preface, p. 9. *The Magistrates were* Achabs, Amazia's, *enemies to* Christ, *led by Satan.*

(TT)

(TT) Ibid. *These were enemies to* Christ; Herods, Pilates, *Scribes and Pharisees, yea, Antichrists, and advised all under a Covenant of Grace, to look upon them as such: And with great zeal did stimulate them to deal with them as such, and alledged the story of* Moses *that killed the Egyptian, and left it barely so.*

(VV) Ibid. *It was a wonder of mercy, that they had not set our Common-wealth and Churches on a fire, and consumed us all therein.*

(XX) Preface, p. 7. *They had some of all quality to defend them, some of the Magistrates, some Gentlemen, some Scholars, some of our Captains and Souldiers, some in Military Trainings.*

(YY) Short story, p. 33. *They made full account the day had been theirs.*

(ZZ) *Master* Williams *in his Discourse to me, assured me hereof.*

(AAA) Short story, pa. 43. *Under their conduct, the old Serpent had prepared such an Ambushment, as in all reason should soon have driven* Christ *and the Gospel out of* New-England, *(though to the ruine of the instruments themselves, as well as of others) and to the repossessing of Satan in his ancient Kingdom.*

(BBB) Preface, pag. 12. *Mistresse* Hutchinson *being big with childe, and growing towards the time of her Labour, brought out not one, but thirty monstrous births or thereabouts at once, none at all of them of humane shape.*

(CCC) Ibid. *Mistresse* Dyer *brought forth her birth of a Woman childe, a Beast, a Fish, and a Fowl, all woven together in one, and without an head.*

(DDD) Ibid. *Though he that runs may read their sin in these judgements, yet, behold the desperate hardnesse of heart in these persons, and all their followers; they turned all from themselves upon the faithfull servants of God that laboured to reclaim them, saying;* This is for you ye Legalists, that your eyes might be further blinded by Gods hand upon us in your legall wayes, that you may stumble and fall, and in the end break your necks in Hell, if ye imbrace not the Truth.

(EEE) Ibidem. pag. 5. *These persons with many others infected by them, went altogether out of our Jurisdiction into an Iland, and there they live to this day most of them, hatching and multiplying new opinions, and cannot agree, but are miserably divided into sundry Sects and Factions.*

(FFF) *Mistresse* Hutchinson *being weary of the Iland, went from thence with all her family, to live under the Dutch, neer a place in the* Map *called* Hell-gate.

(GGG) *There the Indians set upon them, and slew her and all her family; her daughter, and her daughters husband; and all their children, save one that escaped. Some write that the Indians did burn her to death, with all that belonged to her. I never heard that the Indians in these parts did commit the like outrage upon any other.*

(HHH) Vide KKK 1.

(III) Ibid. p. 13. *They grew also many of them very loose in their practises; for these opinions will certainly produce a filthy life by degrees: As no Prayer in their Families, no Sabbath, insufferable pride, frequent and hideous lying; and some of them became guilty of fouler sins then all these, which I here name not.*

Cottons third Sermon, 6. Vial, pag. 9. *The calamities of the Countrey are from God; he takes away all; whether by our pride, that we must have every new fashion, and be like the men of the world, in houses, apparel, and the like; or daintinesse, that we must have our varieties, though it cost never so much, and no matter what followeth, though it eat up our estates. The Lord hath made use of our folly, and pride, and daintinesse, our idlenesse, and covetousnesse.*

Idem. 2. Vial, pag. 26. *We know that in* England *there is no such unfaithful dealing, and hollow heartednesse? no such bitternesse between Christians. What will befall your posterity, they will degenerate out of measure, by the unfaithfulnesse of your lives, and the unrighteousnesse of your promises.*

(KKK 1.) Short story, pag. 44. *The Midwife, one* Hawkins, *was notorious for familiarity with the devil, and now a prime Familist: The most of the women who were present at Mistresse* Dyers *travel, were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting, and purging, without eating or drinking of any thing, as they were forced to go home; others had their children taken with Convulsions, which they had not before, nor since, and so were sent for home: So that none were left at the birth, but the Midwife and two other; whereof one fell asleep at such time as the childe died, which was about two hours before the birth: The Bed wherein the mother lay, shook so violently, that all who were in the Room perceived it.*

(KKK 2.) Ibid. pag. 63, 64. *Then Master* Cotton *told the Assembly, That wherein she had been formerly dealt with for matter of*

Doctrine, he had according to the duty of his place, being the Teacher of the Church, proceeded against her unto admonition: But now the case being altered, and she being questioned for maintaining of untruth, which is matter of Manners, he must leave the businesse to the Pastor Adester Wilson to go on with her: but withall declared his judgement in the case from that in the Revelation, ch. 22. That such as make and maintain a lie, ought to be cast out of the Church: and whereas two or three pleaded that she might first have a second Admonition, according to that in Titus 3. 10. He answered, That that was onely for such as erred in point of Doctrine: but such as shall notoriously offend in matter of conversation, ought to be presently cast out: as he proved by Ananias and Saphira, and the incestuous Corinthian.

Ibid. p. 65. It was observed that she should now come under Admonition for many foul and fundamental Errours: and after be cast out for notorious lying.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Carriage of the Independents *in* Holland, *at* Roterdam, *and* Arnhem.

THe fruits of this way in *Holland*, are not much sweeter then these we have tasted in *New-England*. All the time of their abode there, they were not able to conquer to their party more then two Congregations; and these but very small ones, of the English onely: For to this day, I have not heard of any one man of the Dutch, French, Scottish, or any other Reformed Church, who have become a Member of any Independent Congregation.

Independency no fruitful Tree in *Holland*.

Their first Church in *Holland* was that of *Roterdam*, which Master *Peters* (*A*) (not the most setled head in the World) did draw from its ancient Presbyterial Constitution, to that new frame which it seemeth he also learned by Master *Cottons* Letters from *New-England*.

Master *Peters* the first Planter of that Weed at *Roterdam*.

This Church became no sooner Independent, then it run into the way of such shameful Divisions as their Mother at *Amsterdam* had gone before them. Their Pastor Master *Peters*, was soon weary of them, or they of him; for what causes themselves best know; but sure it is, he quickly left them, and went for *New-England*.

The Church was not long destitute of Pastors; for about that time Master *Ward* and Master *Bridge* came over to them from *Norwich*, where they ever had lived fully conform, without any contradiction either to Episcopacy or Ceremonies, onely they withstood Bishop *Wrens* last Innovations (*B*).

Their Ministers, Master *Bridge*, Master *Simpson*, and Master *Ward*, renounced their English Ordination, and as meer private men took new Ordination from the people.

So soon as they came to *Roterdam*, without any long time of advisement, they conformed themselves to the Discipline which Master *Peters* had planted (C); They renounced their English Ordination and Ministerial Office, joyning themselves as meer private men to that Congregation, which afterward did choose and ordain both of them to be their Ministers (*D*).

It was not long before Master *Simpson* also came hither from *London*, and renouncing also his Ordination (*E*), joyned himself as a private member with them.

Incontinent they did fall into shameful divisions and subdivisions.

Then did the Spirit of Division begin to work among them, and so far to prevail, that Master *Simpson* malecontent with Master *Bridge*, for hindering the private members of the flock to prophesie after the Brownists way, did separate himself and erect a new Congregation of his own (*F*): Betwixt these two Churches, the contentions and slanders became no lesse grievous then those of *Amsterdam* betwixt *Ainsworth* and *Johnsons* followers; and in this much worse, that they of *Roterdam* abode not at one Schism; but after Master *Simpsons* separation, broke out again into another subdivision.

Master *Bridges* Congregation was so filled with strife, so shamefull slanders were laid upon his own back, that displeasure did hasten the death of his wife (*G*), and did well neer kill himself, making him oft professe his repentance that ever he entred into that society (*H*).

The people without any just cause deposed their Minister.

As for Master *Ward*, his Ministery became so unsavoury to that people, that they did never rest till judicially by their own Authority alone (for Presbytery they had none, and Master *Bridge* did dissent from that act of unjust oppression) they had deposed Master *Ward* from his pastoral charge (*I*).

The Commissioners from *Arnhem* durst not come neer the bottom of the businesse.

This act was much stumbled at by divers who were fully perswaded of Master *Wards* integrity, and at last by the intercession of some from the Church of *Arnhem* he was restored to his place; but the ground of the controversie was no wayes touched: For when the four Commissioners from *Arnhem*, Master *Goodwin*, Master *Nye*, Master *Laurence*, and another, had met in a Chamber of a private house in *Roterdam*, with some Members of that faulty Congregation (*K*), and so made up their famous Assembly, which the Apologists are pleased to equal, if not to prefer to all the Assemblies they ever had seen (*L*): Whether that National Synod, wherein Master *Nye* had seen the flowre of the Scottish Nation enter into the Covenant with very great devotion: Or this great Assembly at *Westminster*, where he and his Brethren oft have seen sitting the Prince *Elector*, the most Noble Members of both Houses of Parliament, the prime Divines of all *England*, the Commissioners of the Church of *Scotland*.

That Assembly, I say of *Roterdam*, did not so much as touch the main question; they drew a thin skin over the wound, but durst not assay to lance it to the bottom. For did they ever rebuke,

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or ſo much as once ſpeak to the people of that Congregation, for uſurping a Tyrannicall Authority to depoſe their Paſtor. Did they tell Maſter *Ward* of his ſiding with Maſter *Simpſon*, againſt Maſter *Bridge*, in the matter of prophefie? did they ever attempt to cognoſce on the great ſcandal, the ground of all the reſt, Maſter *Simpſons* Separation? did they make any hearty and ſolid reconciliation betwixt Maſter *Ward* and the Church? It ſeems the Aſſembly was wiſer then to meddle with evils, which they found much above their ſtrength to remedy. Maſter *Ward* found himſelf after his reſtitution in ſo pittiful a condition with his new friends, that he left their Company (*M*).

The two Churches were irreconcileable, till both Maſter *Bridge*, and Mr. *Simpſon* had removed their Stations to *England*; and even then the concord could not be obtained, till the Dutch Magiſtrate had interpoſed his authority (*N*): Neither by this means could Maſter *Simpſons* Church be perſwaded to return to Maſter *Bridges*, till for their meer pleaſure they got that Congregation to remove one of their prime members, without the alleadging of any cauſe but their own peremptory will and ſatisfaction (*O*). When by ſo much a do theſe two divided Churches are brought together, it may be much doubted, if their Union ſhall long continue. Certainly, it ſeems not to be ſo Cordial, as that of the two lately divided, and now reunited Churches at *Amſterdam*. For among theſe of *Roterdam*, not onely the grounds of the old diviſion do evidently remain, but alſo the Seeds of a new breach do appear above the ground.

The Schiſms at *Roterdam* were more irreconcileable then theſe at *Amſterdam*.

The liberty of prophecying, which Maſter *Simpſons* (now Maſter *Simons*) Congregation did require, is not obtained in the way they deſired it; for they are not permitted to Prophecy in the Congregation, nor upon the Sabbath day, nor in the place of publike meeting: Onely in a private place, on a week day, where ſome of the Church who pleaſe do meet; they have liberty to exerciſe their gifts. On the other part, what Maſter *Bridges* (now Mr. *Parke*) Church did require, I mean a Presbytery for Government in the Congregation, cannot be obtained. For however, they profeſſe the lawfulneſſe and conveniency of Ruling Elders, and of a Conſiſtory for Diſcipline; yet it hath ſo faln out that for many yeers they have had none, neither are like in haſte to have, unleſſe the grumbling of Maſter *Parke* and his friends threat-

threathing a new breach, do force them at last to the use of that Ordinance.

Anabaptism is like to spoil that Church.

But that which threatneth not a Schisme alone, but a total dissolution of that Congregation, is the Pest of Anabaptism, which begins of late much to infect them (P). It is true, the Pastors do their best to reclaim all their members from that Error; and when they finde themselves not able to prevail, give good words and assurances of a full and Brotherly Toleration; for as they scruple not to give the hand of Fellowship to the Brownists of *Amsterdam* (Q); so will they not cast out any from their Church for denying of Pedobaptism, if the dissenting and erring party be pleased to remain peaceably amongst them: But here is the pity, when the Independents have declared their greatest readinesse to tolerate and entertain in their Churches, both the rigid Separatists, and the Anabaptists (R); yet the most of those are unwilling to stay, but are peremptory to separate from the Independent Churches as more corrupt then that they with a good conscience can abide in them, though never to much tolerated and cherished.

As for their Church at *Arnhem*, howsoever their small intercourse with others, during their abode in that remote corner, and their taciturnity of their own affairs makes their proceedings to lie under a Cover; yet so much of their wayes is come to light upon divers occasions as will not be very inductive and alluring of indifferent spirits, to tred in their footsteps.

They of the Church of *Arnhem* admire and praise themselves above all measure.

First, We finde them greater admirers of themselves and proclaimers of their own excellency then is the custome of modest and wise, though the best and greatest men. They think it not enough to anoint their Masters and Friends of *New-England* with excessive praises, as men who have not been matched by any of the Saints since the dayes of *Abraham* (S); but they are also bold to found out to themselves in Print in the ears of both Houses of Parliament, a commendation much above the possible merit of any so small a number of men in the whole world. The Synod of *Roterdam* they equal to the most solemn National Assemblies of either or both Kingdoms (T). This exceeding great worth upon whose head must it fall, but either alone or far most principally upon the Members of the Church of *Arnhem*? For that Synod did consist of no other but the two

Doctors of that Church, and the two Elders thereof, together with Master *Bridge*, and the Members of his Church. These last were present in that Synod as persons challenged, and guilty of a grievous scandal; so to them in that action but a small praise can be due: Wherefore, the supereminent Excellency of that meeting, must fall upon the Commissioners of *Arnhem*, the onely persons which in that meeting were void of offence, and free from challenges. To themselves therefore it is alone, or at least above all others, that they ascribe the superlative praises of that Synod.

In that same place they stick not to take to themselves the honour of so great sincerity as any flesh in the world not onely hath at this present, but possibly can attain in any following Age (*V*). We wonder the lesse to hear them canonize their Colleague Master *Archer* after his death, among the most precious persons who ever trod upon the earth (*X*).

This self-overvaluing seems to be the ground why they cry out of their very moderate afflictions as of great calamities; they inseminate to the Parliament, over and over, their persecution, their poverty, their miserable exile (*Y*); when they who understand the case, give assurance, that not one of Ten of the most prosperous Ministers of the whole world, in the time of their greatest Sunshine, do live in more wealth, ease, honour, and all worldly accommodations, then these poor miserable exiles did enjoy all the time of that which they call their banishment.

The ostinesse of their banishment and afflictions.

My next observation upon that Church, is, that an humour of innovating at least, if not a spirit of errour, did much predominate among them. To passe by that wantonnesse of wit, which in their Books, and Discourses doth much appear, whereby they attribute without fear, to a number of Scriptures, such new and strange senses as before them were never heard of: We finde them pleasing themselves in divers Doctrines, which no Reformed Church doth assere for truth, yea, their own Brethren, both of *New-England*, and of *Rotterdam*, and of *Amsterdam*, do reject as Errours.

The new light at Arnhem broke out into a number of strange Errours.

They are not content with some few little touches of Chiliasm, which yet Master *Cotton* returns to be but fruitly imaginations (*Z*). But they run themselves over head and eares in the deepest gulph of that old Heresie. The glimpse of *Sims* glory Preached at a Fast

First, Grosse Chiliasm.

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in *Holland* by *T. G.* (which commonly report without any contradiction that I have heard declares to be *Thomas Goodwin*) avers, That Independency is a beginning, or at least a neer antecedent of Christs Kingdom upon Earth (*B B*): That within five yeers Christ is to come in the flesh (*C C*); and by a Sword of Iron, to kill with his own hand the most of his enemies (*D D*); and thereafter to passe over a thousand yeers (*E E*) as a worldly Monarch (*F F*) with his Saints: Who shall live with him all that time in all sorts of fleshly delights (*G G*). Master *Archer* the onely Pastor that ever they had, whose praises they sound forth so loud in their Apologetick, would perswade us of the same, and more grosse stories (*H H*). Master *Burrows* in his late Sermons upon *Hosea*, runs in the same way (*I I.*)

Secondly, The grossest blasphemy of the Libertines that God is the Author of the very sinfulnes of sin.

Neither is this all the new Light that did shine forth in the Candlestick of *Arnhem*; but there also Master *Archer* giveth forth, for the comfort of his hearers, without the reproof so far as yet we have heard of any of his Colleagues, *That God is not onely the Author of sin* (*K K*), *but also of the sinfulnesse, the very Formality, the Anomy, the Ataxy, the Pravity of sin* (*L L*). A doctrine which all Protestants ever did abhor as high Blasphemy; and which, the Assembly of Divines, with both the Houses of Parliament, did condemn as such; appointing Master *Archers* Book for that worst Heresie of the Libertines, and grossest Blasphemy of the Antinomians, to be solemnly burnt by the hand of the Hangman (*M M*).

Thirdly, the fancy of the Enthusiasts in knowing God as God, abstracted from Grace, and from all his attributes.

There was also another sparkle of new Light brake up in that Church, wherein one of their Doctors doth so much delight to this day; That not being content to have holden it out in *Holland*, he is said to have Preached it over and over in the most solemn Assemblies both of *Scotland* and *England*; *That it is a duty incumbent to all who would be perfit, to know God in God, without Christ, without the Scripture, in notions abstracted, not onely from all Grace, but from all Scripture, and from Christ* (*N N*). I dare not affix unto this, the late Doctrine of some *Seraphick* Jesuites and Monks, wherein they have extravagated in their *Lent* Sermons, so many absurd and Heretical senses, as some very learned and good men have done in Print without any answer (*O O*); yet I must professe, if it be a truth, it is a very metaphysical one, and much transcending my shallow understanding.

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In that Church also the doctrine of Extreme Unction was so far brought back, that they began to anoint their sick with oile, (*PP*) taking it as an ordinance of Christ, and a kinde of a Sacrament for the people, at least a holy Ceremony, no lesse of Divine institution, than Ordination and Imposition of hands were for Officers, (*QQ*).

Fourthly, the old Popish ceremonies of Extream unction, and the holy kisse of peace.

Also they set on foot another Religious Ceremony in their Congregation, the holy Apostolike kisse (*RR*).

And as if all these innovations had not been sufficient, they began to put down all singing of *Psalmes*, and to set up in their place, their *singing Prophets*, making one man alone to sing in the midst of the silent congregation, the Hymnes which he out of his own gift had composed, (*SS* 1). And this, as I am informed by some who have been present, is now the setled practice of the remainder of the Church of *Arnhem*.

Fifthly, the discharging of the *Psalmes*, the appointing of a singing Prophet to chant the Songs made by himself, in the silence of all others.

Master *Edwards* layes to their charge, not onely that their Principles leade to that horrible errour which some of their followers maintain, *The mortality of the Soule*, (*SS* 2); but also that their chief Doctors had preached, both in *Arnhem* and *England*, without the rebuke of any of their friends, *That the soules of the Saints go not after death to the Heavens*, (*SS* 3). In that same place, the Pastor of *Arnhem*, without the reproof of any of his party to this day, so far as ever I heard, doth take away and deny that Heaven, and that Hell, which all Christians before him did ever believe; and in the place thereof gives us new Heavens, and new Hels of his own invention: He tels us confidently, *That no soule before Christs ascension did ever enter into that place which we commonly call heaven, neither ever shall ever enter there, if you except Christ alone, unto the last day. That all the soules of the godly remain in a place of the higher Region of the Aire, or at highest in the Element of the Fire*; That Enoch and Elias, *that the soule of Christ, before the Resurrection, and the soule of the good Theefe, went no higher* (*SS* 4.) He tels us, *That the place of the damned before the last judgement, is not any infernall fire, but some prison in the low Region of the Air, or at lowest, in some place of the Sea.* After the day of Judgement, he makes Hell a very large place; the whole Elements, the Heavens of the Planets and of the fixed Stars: yea, the whole Heavens, except that wherein God and the Angels do dwell, being all turned to their first matter, to him is Hell. With such fine new specu-

Sixthly, the mortality of the soule.

lations do the Independent Pastors feed their flocks (SS).

Seventhly, the conveniency for Ministers to preach covered, and celebrate the Sacraments discovered: but for the people to hear discovered, and to participate the Sacraments covered.

I have heard also one of their Doctors deliver it as his opinion, That it was expedient for the Minister in Preaching to have his head covered; and the people in time of preaching to sit uncovered: But in the holy Communion, that it was expedient the Minister should celebrate that Sacrament uncovered, unto the people covered. I do not deny my suspition of the spirit of these men, who are not afraid, in so short a time, to vent such a multitude of strange novelties.

Their publick contentions were shamefull.

But the cleerest *memento* which God hath given us to beware of the wayes of that Church, is, Their bitter and shamefull contentions among themselves, which, if not stopped by the Churches dissolution, might long before this day have produced as foule effects as any of the former. A part of this story, and but a part of it, you may read in that unanswerable Book of Master *Edwards*, where at length you will see how their new fancies brought them to so bitter publike contention, and irreconcileable strife, as made their people confesse their doubting of the truth of their way (TT); and their principall Doctor, Master *Goodwin*, to avow his inclination to desert their society, and leave their Church (VV).

The Testimonies.

(A) Anatomy of Independency, p. 24. *That Independent church at* Roterdam, *was formerly under Presbyteriall Government, and conformable to the Dutch churches, and had only begun to decline in Mr.* Peters *his time.*

(B) Antap. p. 17. *Master* Bridge *and Master* Burrows *were men judged conformable, till the year of Bishop* Wrens *Visitation, and the sending down of his Injunctions to* Norwich.

(C) Ibid. *Master* Bridge *fell suddenly into the Church-way, at the short space between his Suspension at* Norwich, *and his being received into a Church at* Roterdam, *and thereupon, his first Letter to some of his old friends in* Norwich *will fully shew.*

(D) Anatom. p. 23. *They all renounced their Ordination in* England, *and ordained one another in* Holland; *first Master* Bridges *ordained Master* Ward, *and then immediately Master* Ward *ordained Master* Bridges.

(E)

(E) Antap. p. 142. *Master* Simpson, *after some time of beholding the order and way of the Church at* Roterdam, *desired to be admitted a Member, and was upon his confession received in.*

(F) Ibid. *Master* Simpson *stood for the ordinance of Prophecying, and that the people, on the Lords day, should have liberty after the Sermon to put doubts and questions to the Ministers. Mr.* Bridge *opposed; Yet he yielded so far, that the Church should meet on a week-day, and then they should have that liberty; but this would not satisfie Master* Simpson: *Whereupon the difference increased, and Master* Simpson *would abide no longer, but quitted that Church; and with the help of a woman, whom Master* Bridge *called the Foundresse of Master* Simpsons *Church, set up a Church against a Church.*

(G) *Mistresse* Bridge *laid these bitter differences and reports so to heart, that they were a great means of her death.*

(H) Ibid. *Whether Master* Bridges *weaknesse and distempers were no occasioned by the divisions and wicked scandals raised upon him, as well as by the Aire of* Roterdam, *himself knows best.*

Ibid. p. 143. *Upon Master* Simpsons *resting from the Church, and setting up a Church against a Church, under Mr.* Bridges *nose; and upon wicked reports raised about Master* Bridges; *there grew that bitternesse, evill speakings, and deep censurings, deadly feuds amongst these Ministers and their Churches, as never was more betwixt the* Jewes *and the* Samaritans. *Master* Bridge *confessed to me, there were no such sharp tongues nor bitter divisions as these.*

Anatom. p. 6 *Of these reproachings Master* Bridges *hath found notable experience at* Roterdam, *to the tyring out of his spirit amongst them there, insomuch as he hath been often heard to affirm, That if he had known at first what he met with afterward, he would never have come amongst them, nor being amongst them, have given them such liberty as he had.*

(I) Antap. p. 35. *Master* Ward, *Master* Bridges *colleague and old friend at* Norwich, *was deposed from his Ministery and Office by Mr.* Bridges *Church, for frivolous matters.*

(K) Antap. p. 184. *I much wonder how you can call the meeting of Master* Goodwin *and Master* Nye, *with two Gentlemen more, calling Master* Bridge *with the rest of that Church supposed to be Delinquents, such a solemn Assembly.*

(L) Apol. Narration, p. 20. *The Ministers of the Church offended, with other two Gentlemen of much worth, members thereof,*

were sent as Messengers from that Church, and at the introduction and entrance of that solemn Assembly; the solemnity of which hath left as deep an impression upon our hearts of Christs dreadfull presence, as ever any we have been present at.

(M) Antap. p. 141. *I desire to know whether Master* Ward *after he was restored, did, as formerly, officiate in that Church, and how long; and whether Master* Bridge *and he continued as fellow Ministers; and whether between them two, and between the Church and Master* Ward, *there was that mutuall carriage that ought to be between fellow-Ministers, and Ministers and People.*

(N) Anatom. p. 49. *The way of Vnion of these Churches could never be found, till the Magistrates authority and command found it.*

(O) Anato. p. 6. *These two Churches being of late commanded by the Magistrates of* Roterdam *to unite again in one, and that Church whereof Master* Simpson *was Minister, being unwilling to joyn to the other, unlesse some members thereof should be cut off first, especially one; and the Church whereof that party was a Member, being willing to gratifie the other in this, and yet professing and attesting as an act of the whole Church, by writing, That all the time he had been a member, his conversation had been without offence: Yet their Teacher was forced, as himself confessed with griefe of heart, having nothing to except against the person, to urge him to take his dismission from the Church.*

(P) Ibid. *Adde hereunto the defection of some of their Members to Anabaptisme, and how apt others of them are to be made a prey therein, more then the members of other Reformed Churches, as late instance hath manifested, some having professed Master* Simpsons *principles have made them Anabaptists.*

(Q) Anatom. p. 24. *They cannot shew us such a fraternity between them and any Reformed church, as I am (and I believe truly) informed, Master* Simpsons *church (whether by him, or after his time by Master* Simons, *I have not enquired) entred into with these of the Separation at* Amsterdam, *by a mutuall covenant and agreement to own each other. I believe it to be by vertue of that Covenant, that some of their Members, not Officers of the Church, do publikely preach in Master* Canns *Pulpit at* Amsterdam.

(R) Antap. p. 51. *I can tell you how some of you who have not Churches here in* London, *go to separate Churches to partake of the* Lords Supper. Ibid.

Ibid. p.56. *Instance hath been given me particularly by a great Friend of yours now in* London; *That when some of you have come to* Amsterdam, *you never would go to Master* Herrings, *a good old Nonconformist, but you have gone to Master* Cann *the Separatist, and to his Church.*

Ibid. *For their going to the* Brownists, *and conversing with Mr.* Cann, *more then us, that is undeniable.*

(S) Apol. Narration, p. 5. *Whose sincerity in their way hath been testified before the world, and will be unto Generations to come, by the greatest undertaking, but that of our Father* Abraham *out of his own Country, and his Seed after him.*

(T) Vide supra. L.

(V) Apol. Nar. p.3. *In this inquiry we looked upon the Word of Christ as impartially and unprejudicedly, as men made of flesh and blood are like to do in any juncture of time that may fall out.*

(X) Ibid. p.22. *We lost some friends and companions, our fellow-labourers in the Gospel, as precious men as this earth beares any.*

(Y) Apol. Nar. p.22. *When it pleased God to bring us his poor exiles back again.* Ibid. p.23. *Which was as great an affliction to us, as our former troubles and banishment.* Ibid. p.31. *Consider us as these who for many years suffered even to exile.*

(Z) Antapol. p.26. *How dare you affirme, that for your conscience you were deprived at once of whatever was dear to you? were not your Wives, Children, Estates, Friends, and Lives dear to you? had you not all these with you, and did you not in the* Netherlands *live in the best places, in much plenty, ease, and pomp? what great deprivation is this of what ever is dear, for men to take their own times, and to go in Summer, with Knights, Ladies, and Gentlewomen, with all necessaries, into* Holland, *and there to take choice of all the Land, and with Wives, Children, Friends and Acquaintance, free from the feares and possibilities of vexation from the Spirituall Courts, and Prisons, to enjoy all plenty and freedome as you did? Many would have been glad, and still would be, to be so exiled into* Holland, *and to be able to spend there two or three hundred pounds* per annum.

(AA) Cottons 6. Viall, p. 9. *I dare not take up such carnall imaginations, as that Christ shall come bodily, and reigne here upon Earth.*

(BB) Glimpse of Sions glory, p. 33. *If God have such an intention to glorifie his Church, and that in this world, what manner of*

persons ought ye to be, because ye are beginning this despised work, gathering a Church together, which way God will honour? certainly, the Communion of Saints, and Independency of Congregations, God will honour.

(CC) Daniel 12.11. *From the time that the daily Sacrifice shall be taken away, there shall be 1290 dayes; What is the meaning of this? A day is usually taken for a year. This abomination of desolation was in* Julians *time in the 360. year: now reckon so many yeares according to the number of the dayes, it comes to 1650. and it is like to be it, as any that can be named. But it is said, Blessed is he that comes to the 1335 dayes, that is, forty five yeares more added; it shall begin in the 1650. but is comes not to full head till forty five years more.*

(DD) Ibid. *in the Epistle. Take this rule,* That all Texts of Scripture are to be understood literally, except they make against other Scriptures, or except the very coherence of the Scripture shew it otherwise.

Ibid. p. 17. *Indeed, if we put upon allegoricall senses, we may put off any Scripture; but if we take them literall, why should we not?*

Ibid. p. 21. *Christ is described in the 19. of the* Revelation, *With his Garments dyed in blood, when he doth appeare to come and to take the Kingdome: when he appeares with many Crownes upon his head, that notes his many victories.*

Ibid. p. 17. *The promise that is made,* Revel. 12. *He shall rule them with a Rod of Iron, and as the Vessels of a Potter they shall be broken to shivers. What shall we make of this?*

(EE) Ibid. p. 14. 15. *The reigning with Christ 1000 years, is not meant of reigning with him in Heaven, but it must be meant of Jesus Christs comming and reigning here gloriously for 1000. yeares.*

(FF) Ibid. p. 17. *What shall we make of this, except there be a glorious reign of Christ with his Saints? Christ is said to make them Kings, so as to have power and dominion in the world.*

(GG) Ibid. p. 13. *There is no reason why that of the 26. of* Matth. v. 29. I will drink it new with you in my Fathers kingdome, *may not be taken literally.*

(HH) Archers personall reign, p. 5. *I call this last state of his, Monarchical, because he will governe as earthly Monarchs have done, that is, universally over the world in those dayes, known, and esteemed;*

esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensually, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever in and of the world is not sinfull, having all Nations and Kingdomes doing homage to him, as the great Monarchs of the World had.

(II) Burtows upon Hosea, p. 145. *These are the new Heavens and the new Earth that are to be created; and this is meant of the Church plainly: For the Text,* Verse 12. *speaks of building houses, and inhabiting them, and of planting Vineyards, and eating the fruit of them, upon these new Heavens, and this new Earths creation.*

Ibid. p. 191. *And literally we are to understand many Scriptures that tend this way, concerning the fruitfulnesse of the Earth, and the outward externall glory that then shall be in the creatures.*

(KK) Archers comfort for Believers, p. 41. *God may as truly and easily have a will and hand in, and be the author of sinnes, as of afflictions.*

Ibid. *We may safely say, that God is, and hath an hand in, and is the Author of the sinfulnesse of his people.*

(LL) Ibid. p. 36. *The feare of some of these inconveniences, hath made Divines not to acknowledge so much of God in sin, as is in sin: They have erred on the other hand, and made sin more of the creature and in it self, and lesse from God then it is; They grant, that God is willing sin should be, and that he permits it, and orders circumstances about its production, and hath an hand in, and is the author of the Physicall or Morall act, in, and with which sinne is; but the essence of sinne, i.e. the pravity and anomy and irregularity of the act, which is the sinfulnesse of it, God hath no hand, neither is he any Author at all thereof. This opinion goes wrong another way, and gives not to God enough in sinne. Let us imbrace and professe the truth, and not feare to say that of God, which he in his Holy book saith of himself, namely,* That of him, and from his hand, is not only the thing that is sinfull, but the pravity and sinfulnesse of it.

(MM) A short Declaration of the Assembly, by way of Detestation of the abominable and blasphemous opinion. The Order of the House of Lords runs thus——*Complaint being this day made to the Lords in Parliament, by the Assembly of Divines, that a certain blasphemous and heretical books, intituled,* Comfort for Believers, *is printed and published, being written by* John Archer; *their*

their Lordships much abhorring the said blasphemies, do award and adjudge, that the said Book shall be burnt by the hand of the common Hangman.

(NN) Doctor *Stewarts* Duply to *M. S.* second part, p. 118. *Not long since I heard one of the Ringleaders of the Independent Sect deliver this doctrine in a Sermon at the Abbey of* Westminster: *viz. That to a saving knowledge of God, it sufficeth not to know him in the Book of Nature; or secondly, as revealed in the holy Scriptures: but that we must also know him as abstract from his mercy, and all his Attributes.*

(OO) Ibid. *If I know God abstracted from his mercy; I know him out of Christ, and out of the Gospel; for God in Christ, and in the Gospel, is not abstract, but concrete with mercy. If God be considered as abstract from all his attributes, it is no more a knowledge of God, but some idol of the Independents brains.*

(PP) Antap. p. 36. *Master* Goodwin *did annoint a Gentlewoman (whose name I conceale) when she was sick, and she recovered after it, say they.*

(QQ) Ibid. *Anointing the sick with Oyle, was held in the Church of* Arnhem *as a standing Ordinance for Church-members, as laying on of hands was a standing Ordinance for Church-Officers.*

(RR) Ibid. p. [illegible] *I propound it to you, whether a little before your comming over into* England, *some Members of the Church of* Arnhem *did not propone the Holy kisse, or the kisse of Love, to be practised by Church-members? Nay, Whether by some persons in that Church was it not begun to be practised?*

(SS 1.) Ibid. p. 36. *A Gentleman of note in that Church, did propone in the Church, that singing of Hymns was an Ordinance; whereto, That any person of the Congregation exercising their own gifts, should bring an Hymne and sing it to the Congregation, all the rest being silent, and giving audience.*

(SS 2.) Antap. p. 262. *Some of* Arnhem *hold strange conceits: Daily the* Independents *Churches, like* Africa, *do breed and bring forth the Monsters of Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Familisme, nay, that huge Monster and old flying Serpent, of the Mortality of the Soule of man.*

(SS 3.) Ibid. p. 261. *I have been told of some odde things preached by one of you first, both in* England *and* Holland, *and of some Points preached in the Church of* Arnhem, *never questioned there,*

and

and since Printed, not very Orthodox; as for instance among others, That the soules of the Saints do not go to Heaven to be with Christ.

(SS 4.) Archers personall reign, p. 23. *This Objection supposes the soules of the dead Saints to be in the highest Heavens, which is not so: It is likely the soules of the dead Saints are not in the highest Heavens, but in a middle place, which is meant in the New Testament by Paradise; into this paradise went Christs soule, and the Theefs, which was not Heaven. Its most probable that Christs soule never went into the highest Heavens, till his body went also.* Ibid. *None but Christ, and so none before Christ, ever entered the highest Heavens. The way to Heaven was never opened, till Christ the High-Priest entered Body and Soul into it. The highest Heavens never had but one man into them, namely* Christ, *nor shall have till the worlds end.*

Ibid. p. 25. *If you ask where this place of Paradise is: I answer, It must be below the highest Heavens, therefore surely it is in the Region or Element of fire, where the Sun and Stars are, or in the highest Region of the Ayre.*

(SS 5.) Archers p rsonall reign, p. 35. *At the day of Judgment the wicked shall be sent with the Devill into Hell, which Hell shall not be that which is now called Hell but another; for the Hell that now is, is but a prison, and not the place of execution: at the last day this Hell that now is, shall cease. This Hell which is at present, to be sure is in some of the places of the Aire, or the Waters, and not in the Grave. But the Hell which shall be the everlasting torment of all the damned, shall be all this lower and visible World, all the places of the Earth, Water, Aire, Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Fire, called the Heavens, and the Earth. The things which God immediately made out of nothing, shall never change; as the highest Heavens, and the Angels in them, and the soules of men, and this Chaos called the Earth: But all other things being made out of something, even out of this Earth or Chaos, they shall after a time change, and so all this World shall come to an Earth or Chaos again. God in time did make two places, Heaven and Earth, immediately out of nothing, to be eternall places, the one of Joy, the other of Torment. Thus you see when Hell was made, but it was quickly covered, and shall not be uncovered, till Christ do it at the last day.*

(TT) Anrap. p. 36. *The Gentleman censured, brings an accusation against Master* Nye, *charging him with Pride, want of Charity, &c. And the thing brought before the Church, continued in debate about half a yeare, three or foure dayes in a week, and sometimes more, before all the Congregation: divers of the Members having Callings to follow, they desired leave to be absent. Master* Goodwin *oft professed publikely upon these differences, If this were their Church-fellowship, he would lay down his Eldership; and nothing was more commonly spoken among the Members, then that certainly for matter of Discipline they were not in the right way, for that there was no way to bring things to an end.*

(VV) Vide supra. TT.

Chap. IV.

The Carriage of the Independents *at* London.

The work of the prime Independents of *New England*, *Old-England*, *Arnhem*, and *Rotterdam*, these 5 years at *London*.

YOu have gotten a taste of the fruits of this Tree, as it growes in *New-England* and *Holland*: When it is transplanted to *Old-England*, consider if the Grapes of it be any thing sweeter. These five last yeares, the chief of that party, both from *Arnhem*, *Rotterdam*, and *New-England*, have kept their residence at *London*, to advance by Common-counsels and industry, their Way, in these dayes of their hopes. A full account of their courses in that place cannot be expected, so long as many passages concerning them lie in the dark, and the end is not yet come. But three things seem to be cleare, which make their Way at *London* no more lovely then in the places mentioned. First, they have been here exceeding unhappy in retarding, and to their power crossing the blessed Reformation in hand. Secondly, they have pregnantly occasioned the multiplication of Heresies and Schismes, above all that ever was heard of in any one place in any former Age. Thirdly, they have occasioned such Divisions in the State, that had it not been for the extraordinary mercies of God, the Parliament and all that follow them had long agoe been laid under the feet of their enraged Enemies, and the whole Isle long before this been totally ruined.

They did hinder with all their power, so long as they were able, the calling of the Assembly.

As for the first, the Reformation of Religion, so much wished for by all the Godly for so many yeares; All know it could never have been attained without the help of an Assembly of Divines: Who opposeth the necessary Mean, cannot be taken for a friend of the End. The Assembly, the necessary mean of Reformation, was for a very long time hindred, by the diligence of the Independent party, to be called (*A*): and when, to their evident griefe and discontent, the Parliament had voted its calling, they may remember their extraordinary industry to get it modelled according to their Principles, both in its members, and power (*B*); to have it an elective Synod only for advice, to consist of so many of themselves and of their favourers as was possible, not any known Divine of any parts in all *England* of their opinion, being omitted. How cautious they were by great sleight of hand to keep off so many of the old Puritan Unconformists, as they were wont injuriously to be called, and how much more inclinable towards

wards men of Episcopall and Liturgick principles, themselves doe know;

Albeit, Their under-hand-working before the sitting of the Assembly, was seen but by few: but so soon as the Synod did sit, it did then appeare to the whole company who were the men who made it their worke and greatest study to keep off, by their endlesse Janglings, the Assembly from concluding any thing that might settle the distracted Church (*C*); so that to this day, after two yeares time and above, in more frequent and longer Sessions then ever wee reade of in any Assembly since the world began (*D*), there is nothing at all set up for the comfort of the afflicted Kingdome. When it was called, they retarded its proceedings.

Their averseneſse to the Assembly doth appeare, not only in their opposition to its calling, in their retarding of its proceedings, but in their pressing of its dissolution. I doe not speake of the huge Contumelies which some of their party have poured out upon the face of that most Reverend Meeting, in a number of very wicked Pamphlets, which to this day were never so much as censured, though the Authours, by name, and sirname, are complained of in Print. But that which I speake of, is the expresse Article of the Independent Petition, desiring the Parliament in formall termes, according to Master *Peters* dictates, to dissolve the Assembly (*D* 2.)

What more evident demonstrations could they give of their averseneſse from having the present confusions comming to any end, or of their desires to have the reputation of the Assembly blasted in the hearts of all with whom they had any credit, then openly to deny their concurrence in these things which themselves dare not but professe to be right, and according to the will of God? also to cause print such direct challenges of the Assemblies proceedings, as, if they were true, could not but imprint on the face of that most Reverend company the indeleble markes of injustice and oppression? A late evidence of their affection towards the Assembly and Reformation in hand.

When all the Congregations in the Kingdome after a long expectation and confident hope were panting for a power to keepe off from the Table of the Lord, as well all as some scandalous persons, when the wisedome and piety of the Parliament was so much inclined to hearken to these desires of all gracious people, that it seemed there needed no more for obtaining that happy Ordinance, but one unanimous motion more from the Assembly; the

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Independents being lovingly entreated, and at last with all earnestnesse required to joyn in that pious and most necessary motion with the rest of their Brethren, did peremptorily refuse to concur in any such matter.

And as if this had not been enough to have evidenced their affection to promote these very parts of Reformation which their own hearts did fully approve, they behoved to adde a second courtesie: when by the complaints of their friends in print, they had obtained from the Assembly a power to draw up, and present a Model of the Government which they so much pleaded for, that so at last the World might come to the understanding of their minde under their own hands; when this charge was accepted, and their presence in the Assembly for a long time dispensed with, in full hope of a reall performance of their undertaking: at the end of six or seven moneths expectation, in place of a plain Declaration of their positive doctrine, behold a Libel of all their exceptions that they had taken from the beginning against the Assemblies proceedings; and as if the offence had not been great enough to have so served the Synod within the wals of their meeting, that Libel must needs be sent out to the World in Print, and that before the Assembly could have so much time as to begin any Answer to it.

That the Churches of England and Ireland lie so long in confusion, neither Papists, nor Prelates, nor Malignants have been the cause.

Had either the Popish faction, or the Episcopal party, or the malignant Courtiers procured the continuance of our woefull Anarchy, our anger would have been greater then our grief or shame. But when the mercies of God now for some years have removed the Papists, Prelates and Courtiers so far from us, that by word or deed they have not hindred us in the least measure to heal the diseases of our Church at our pleasure; that her wounds to this day should be multiplied, and all be kept open to drop out her best blood, alone through the obstinacy of our Brethren; though we compresse our indignation, yet we cannot but be oppressed with a great measure of grief, nor can we chuse but to be covered with confusion and shame, when we are forced to taste the most bitter fruits of our Brethrens principles, though denied by them in words, yet ingenuously avowed by their friends in *Amsterdam*, and constantly practised in *New-England*; to the uttermost of their power (*E* 1) they must oppose the building of a Church any where in the world, if it be not after their pattern.

But the Independents, working according to their principles.

That as in *New-England* no Presbyteriall Church on any condition may be tolerated; so in *Old-England* no Presbyteriall Church must ever be erected, if all their skill and industry can hinder it. Such a Reformation, though expressly according to the Nationall Covenant, to them is a deformation, which they cannot wish, much lesse pray for or endeavour, but with all their strength must crosse it, as a corruption unsufferable, where they have power.

It's plain and demonstrable, that their Principles and Way have forced them to oppose the Reformation in hand, and will ever force them so to do, till they lay

new

new grounds, and be changed in the sense of their erroneous minde. However, the actions of our Brethren did proclaim loud enough their intentions to delay so long as they were able, the setting up of any Government; yet when this evill is become so grosse and palpable, that all in words do disclaim it, and they who most do procure it, do most in shew abominate it; it seems a little strange, that some of their Divines are now begun in Print expressly to own it, and in Print to perswade the delay of this work (E 2).

It must be a heavy guiltinesse, to be a powerfull instrument of keeping two so great Kingdomes as *England* and *Ireland* without the Fold and Hedge of all Ecclesiastike Discipline for divers years together, especially in the time of a devouring war. How many thousand soules have perished by this means in their ignorance and profanesse, who in a well-governed Church might have been reclaimed?

The great mischiefe of that Anarchy wherein they have kept the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* for so long a time.

Unto this great misery, another great unhappinesse addeth much weight. Beside their marring of the begun Reformation, they have occasioned the perishing of some millions of poor soules, by the unheard of multiplication of Heresies and Schisms (F). I believe no place in the world, for this mischief, is now parallel to *London*. *Amsterdam* long ago is justified: that City hath transmitted hither the infamy of her various Sects. Now upon whom shall this blame be fastened?

Independency is the mother of more Heresies and Schisms at *London*, then *Amsterdam* ever knew.

It is well known that the Sects, at the time of the Independents return hither, were inconsiderable, in regard of that which now they are by their means. It was their work to bring people into distaste with the way of all the Reformed Churches: this, by their labours, was made vile in the eyes of the multitude; and people once having leaped over that wall, within the which all the Protestant Churches have dwelt in safety, by all the skill of their first misleaders could not be holden from running farther away; as in *New England*, Independency was a mother to Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, Familisme, and many more Heresies, We need not wonder to see it any where bring forth the like brood: But hereof indeed do we wonder, that in so short a time this Way should change as it were its nature so far to the worse.

In *Holland* and *New-England*, Independency, so soon as it had found and discerned the young brats of Anabaptists, Antinomians or Familists in her bosome, it was her custome incontinent to fling them away as bastards: But Independency at *London* hath learned not only to beget, but to cherish such children when they are brought forth. Not only the Churches of *New-England*, but the very *Amsterdam* Brownists have ever been zealous to cast out of their society the Heretikes and Schismatikes we speak of: but here in *London* it is far otherwise.

Independency at *London* doth not only bring forth, but nourish and patronize Heresies and Schisms, contrary to its custom either in *New Engl.* or *Amsterdam*.

We have heard that many of the Independents here, so soon as they have fallen into Anabaptisme or other Errours of the time, have quickly of their own accord run away and separated from the Independent Congregations, as polluted, as false, as no Churches: But that ever any of the *London* Independents did cast out of their Churches any man or woman for Anabaptisme, Antinomianisme, or any other Errour, we never heard.

By the contrary, Independency here is become an uniting Principle; it hath kept our Brethren, in the midst of all their bitter jars with the Reformed Churches abroad, and the Presbyterians at home, in a great intireness and familiarity with all the Sectaries that pleased to draw near them. They have by their debates and

sents laboured to hinder the Assembly from giving the least advice to the Parliament to take any order with the most absurd of the Sectaries, when complained upon for their greatest Enormities; yea, they have preached and printed divers Tractates for a full liberty to all Sects (G). That so soon they should have run thus far out, we could never have believed, if our own eyes and eares had not been our perswaders.

How hazardous it may prove to the State of England.

As for the third Apple we observed on their Tree, The indangering of the State, it is no lesse visible then any of the former. If there were no more but the keeping of the Church wounds so long open, the health, yea the life of the State might justly be feared, from this ground alone, by all who know the sympathy of these Twins, and the inseparable interest of these two much united companions. But beside the keeping of the Church unsetled, the growth of Schisme, how pregnant a cause it is of a States ruine, we need no other witnesse then the declaration of their Brethren in *New-England* (H). We are made here to believe, that the Anabaptists and the Antinomians are so tame and harmlesse creatures, that there is danger of any violence from their innocent hands. If it be so, the Generall Court at *New-Boston* hath been extreamly unjust, who professed their well-grounded apprehension of a totall subversion not only of all their Churches, but of their Civill State also, from a far lesse number of these Sectaries then are here among us; and avowed to the world their necessity to banish out of that Country the leaders of that dangerous Faction, whether men or women, whether Church or States-men, and to disarm many of their followers, upon much smaller provocations and lighter grounds of suspition then by the words and deeds of their kinsfolks have been offered lately unto this State (I).

What more might be said of the *London*-Independents practices upon the State, readily may come to the world ere long by a much better Pen. I for cause at this time abstain totally from medling with this subject.

The Testimonies.

(A) Antap. p. 51. *I beleeve upon good grounds, and so do many more, you never took any great contents or joy in the thoughts of the Assembly, but have done your utmost to delay it and to put it by. God knows your hearts, and men seme of your speeches about the meeting of this Assembly: But seeing it could not be helped, and that you could not keep it off by all your friends, &c.*

(B) Antap. p. 255. *When an Assembly was first agreed upon, there were not many more Ministers and Scholars of your way in the Kingdome who were capable of such a Service, then you got in to be Members of the Assembly; so that you had as much advantage as your condition was capable of, yea and favour too See the Orders of the Assembly, which give no power at all of Jurisdiction to the few selected Divines, but alone a power of advice.*

(C) Antap. p. 269. *I am confident, had it not been for you five, and a few more, the Reformation intended had been in a far fairer way then now it is. Brethren, there are many complaints, and that by your dear friends, of the retarding the Worke of Reformation by your meanes. You are the Remora to the Ship under sailes; you are the Spokes in the Wheeles of the Chariot of Reformation. Parliament complaines, Assembly, City, Country, all complain of the Worke retarded, and all is resolved into you five principally. I could tell you many particular passages, but you know what I meane. In a word, all the Prelates and the Papists cannot, nor doe not*

binder

hinder so much the work of Reformation, as you five Members of the Assembly.

(D 1.) The Stribes books carry already above 500. Sessions.

(D 2.) Prynnes fresh Discovery, p 17. They lately conspired together to exhibite a Petition to the Parliament, for present dissolving the Assembly, and sending them home to Countrey cures, to prevent the setling of any Church Government; To which end they met at the Wind-mill Tavern, where John Lilburn sate in the Chaire, and Mr Hugh Peters suggested the advice, which was accordingly inserted in the Petition.

(E 1) Answer to 32 Quest. p. 83. If that Discipline which we here practise, be the same which Christ hath appointed, and therefore unalterable: We see not how another can be lawfull. So if a company of people shall come hither, and set up another, we cannot promise to approve of them in so doing.

(E 2.) Burtons Vindication, p. 2. If the better heed be not taken, there may be more haste to a Reformation, than good speed; A Reformation therefore will necessarily require longer time yet, that we may not go blindfold about it. See also Saltmarsh his Queries.

(F) Bastwicks second part of Independency. Postscript, p. 37. Before the Independents apparition in our Horizon, there were but three or foure Sects known among us, and they were few in number, and well-conditioned; but out of the Independents lungs are sprung above forty severall sorts of straglers, which before their comming over were never heard of among us. John Lilburn related it unto me, and that in the presence of others, That returning from the wars to London, he met forty new Sects, and many of them dangerous ones, and some so pernicious, that how soever, as he said, he was in his judgement for Toleration of all Religions, yet he professed he could scarce keep his hands off them, so blasphemous they were in their opinions: So that he gathered that these were now the last dayes, wherein so many Heresies abounded. There are innumerable Diabolicall Sects, and so prodigiously impious, that it is not for a Christian to name their opinions; and most of them, if not all, were first Independents, and such as separated from our Congregations as unholy, and were of the new gathered Churches, and followers of their Ministery.

(G) A short Answer to *Adam Stewarts* second Part, supposed to be written by *John Goodwin*, p. 32. and 36. *Is it not an ungodly thing to suffer men to be of any Religion? Answer.* No, *For both our* Saviour, *and the* Apostles, *and the Primitive* Christians *did the same. Ought we not at least to keep our different Opinions and Religion to our selves, in obedience to the Civill Magistrate that commands it? Answer.* No, *Because it's better to obey God, then man. But if Jesuited Papists, and other subtile Hereticks be suffered, will they not seduce many unto their erroneous By-paths? Answer. Though a Toleration of erroneous opinions may gain some to Satan, yet Truth being therewith to be published and approved, will in all probability not only gain so many more to God; but any one thus wonne to the Truth, is worth thousands of these that fall from it.*

(H) *Cottons* Model of Church and Civil power, related in the Bloody Tenent, p. 120. *The fals of Commonwealths are known to arise from their diminishing the power of the Church, and the flourishing of Commonwealths is observed to arise from the vigilant administration of the holy Discipline of the Church.*

(I) Master Prynnes Fresh discovery, in the Epistle. *Their Libels, actions, speeches, proclaim a plotted, avowed Confederacie among some furious Ringleaders of these Independent Sectaries, against the Parliament, Assembly, and all their Resolves in matters of Religion. That which confirms me in this opinion, is, first the new sedi-*

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Holmes Covenant which the Members of some Independent Congregations enter into, to adhere, defend, maintain, to the uttermost of their power, and contend for even to blood, the establishment of that Independent Form of Church-Government which themselves have set up, and to oppose the Presbyterian.

Bastwicks second part, p. 28. *This that I now say, I speak upon very good ground; Among those they think they may confide in, they affirm, they will not be beholding to the Parliament, nor any body else for their Liberty, for they will have it, and ask them no leave. They have the Sword now in their hand, and they think their party strong enough to encounter any adverse party: And they professe they care not how soon they come to cutting of throats, and speak of nothing but the slaughtering and butchering of the Presbyterians: And therefore there is just cause given us to think we may expect better quarters from the very Enemies, then from the Independents, who call us in their pulpits Brethren, but in their hearts hate us.*

Ibid. Postcript. p. 6. *The Presbyterian Government not suiting with their humors, they abhorre it, and all such as endeavour to establish it; and wish rather that all the old Trumpery were brought in again, and professe they had rather have the government of the Prelates: Yea, some of them have not been ashamed to protest unto Prelatical Priests, that before the Presbyters shall rule over them, they will cut all their throats, and joyn with them for the re-establishing of the Hierarchy.*

Ibid. p. 30. *Professing that all such Preachers who preach and write the least thing in opposition to their Opinions, ought to be hanged: And had they the power in their hands, they would truss them up, as many can testifie.*

Ibid. p. 45. *They boast of such a Party in the Kingdome, if their own words may be credited, as they now think by the Sword to be able to make their own Lawes; and have been frequently heard say, That they had many Abettors in the Assembly and both houses of Parliament, and in many parts through the Kingdome, besides in all the Armies: And they were all resolved to have the Liberty of their Consciences, or else they would make use of their Swords, which they have already in their hands.*

Ibid. p. 68. *I know not any Independent in England, except one man and his wife, that do not as maliciously and implacably hate the Presbyterians, as the mortallest enemy they have in the world.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An Enumeration of the common Tenets of the Independents.

IT is not easie to set down with assurance the *Independents* Positions, both because they have to this day declined to declare positively their minds; as also because of their principle of mutability, whereby they professe their readinesse to change any of their present Tenets.

Why it is hard to set down the *Independents* positions.

How unwilling they are to declare their mind, may appear by their obstinate silence, & refusing to answer any of these Books that put them most to it; also by hiding of their opinions from their Brethren, who most earnestly have prest their Declaration.

They have declined to declare their Tenets more then has ever been the custome of any Orthodox divines.

These divers years the Ministers of *London* have been dealing with them for satisfaction herein, and once by opportunity obtained a promise under their hand of a full and free Declaration, but these four years they have eluded that promise (*a*).

Mr. *Apollonius* in the name of all the Churches of *Zealand* with all earnestnesse did intreat this duty of them, (*b*) but all in vain. When upon any occasion they have been moved to make any kind of Narration of their way, it was ever with an expresse *proviso* of their resolution to keep up as yet from the world their positive Tenets, so they conclude their *Apologetucke* (*c*) so they begin their *Keyes* (*d*).

When they shall be pleased to declare themselves to the full, their principle of change will hinder them to assure us that any thing is their setled, and first Tenet whereto they will be constant.

And now when the indignation both of the Assembly and Parliament, and of many more, was likely to break out upon them for this, that after so long time no plain dealing hath been seen in them, at last they have engaged themselves to declare their minds; and yet since that their publike engagement there are six months past, and the worlds expectation of understanding at last their mind is still suspended.

And though that their Declaration should come out to morrow, yet with what assurance can we take any thing therein for their constant and setled Tenet, so long as they professe it to be one of their chief principles to be so loose and irresolute in any thing they maintain for the time, that they are ready to leave it, and upon occasion to embrace the contrary (*e*)? So long as this

this Skeptick irresolution is avowed, there is no hope, there is no possibility of any fixed constancy.

The chief Tenets which hitherto they have given out, and not yet recalled, are these following.

These things considered, no man is able to set down their full mind, nor any one of their positions wherevto any dare assure they will firmely stand; onely the chiefe of their singularities which they have been pleased to let come abroad, and have not to our knowledge as yet revoked, we shall set down as they come to our thoughts.

They reject the name of *Independents* unreasonably, and for their owne disadvantage.

It hath been hitherto their earnest desire to decline the infamy of *Brownisme*, and it was the charity of their Brethren to distinguish them from that Sect, under the new name of *Independents*; importing their chiefe difference from us to stand not in the point of Separation, which is our proper quarrel with the *Brownists*, but alone in the point of Church-Government, which against all the Reformed Churches they maintaine to be Independent, that is, not subject to the Authority and Jurisdiction of any Superiour Synod. This was thought to be their proper distinctive and characteristicall Tenet, till of late we finde them passionately reject the name of *Independents*, and tell us, that the dependency or independency of their Congregations will be found one of their least differences and smallest controversies.

In this our long mistake, we are content to be rectified; albeit our charity should not be reproved, who being ignorant of their willingnesse to differ from us in any thing higher or deeper then the Dependency of Congregations upon the Authority of Superiour Assemblies, did put upon them no other name then that which implyed the difference alone.

When it is laid abde, the more infamous name of *Brownists* and *Separatists* will justly fall upon them.

If seemes that this Title is not only the most reasonable, but the most innocent, and inoffensive note of distinction, which themselves could have chosen: The terme not being invented by any of their ill-willers, but by their own chiefe Leaders (*f*) who did think that word most proper to notifie their Tenet of Government; and since some name must be given to every eminently differing party, it seemes none lesse irritative could be fallen upon then that which most properly did signifie the chiefe matter in Controversie.

But now finding they avow their chiefe differences to lie elsewhere, for my part I could yeeld to them to have the name of *Independents* buried, did I not feare it behoved to be changed

with another Title which would much more displease. For since they are gone beyond the question of Independent Government, and now do question the constitution of our Churches, so farre as puts them on a necessity of Separation, and in this doe place the chiefe of their Controversies with us. If a Sect may be denominated either from the Author or principall matter, as they make no bones to Print us *Calvinians* (*a*) and *Presbyterians* (*b*): I cannot conceive why they ought not to take it in good part, if when the name of *Independents* is laid by, they have in place of it, the Title of *Brownists* and *Separatists* faltened upon them.

They avow a Semi-Separation, but a Sesqui-Separation will be proved upon them.

Of their owne accord they take upon them openly the halfe of the thing we alledge, professing themselves to lie half way off us, towards *Brownisme* (*c*) avowing the truth to consist in this their middle way: But whosoever considers better of the matter, will find, that however in some things they incline to a middle way; yet in the chiefe and most, they come up close to the outmost line of *Brownisme*, and in many things do expatiate so much beyond it, that in place of the Semi-Separation they mention, they may be justly argued to have drawn upon themselves the blot of Sesqui-Separation, and more also: how true this is, it will appeare to any, who will be pleased to make a parallel of the fore-mentioned Tenets of the *Brownists* with these of the *Independents*, which here are subjoyned.

The *Independents* do separate from all the Reformed Churches upon far worse grounds, then the *Brownists* were wont to separate.

First, the worst & uttermost Tenet of the *Brownists* for which they took to themselves, and had bestowed upon them by others the stile of Separatists, was their doctrine & practise accordingly, to Separate from the Churches of *England*: In this the *Independents* go beyond them. For beside that the practise of both is the same, both actually Separating from all the Congregations in *England*; the grounds of the *Brownists* Separation were a great deale more reasonable, then that of the *Independents*, albeit neither of them be good and sufficient. For the *Brownists* did build their Separation on the Tyranny of Bishops, on the Superstition of the Ceremonies and Service-Book; on the grosse, avowed and neglected prophanenesse of the most in every Congregation. If these corruptions had been removed, (so far as I have read in any of their Writings) they would no more have Separated. But the *Independents* have no such stumbling blocks in their way, Bishops

and Books being abolished, and a barre set up in every Congregation to keep off from the Sacrament every scandalous and ignorant person, notwithstanding they will yet Separate. The more unjust and lesse cause they have so to do, their separation must be so much the worse, the grosser and more inexcusable Schisme.

Their acknowledgement of the Reformed for true Churches doth not diminish, but increase their Schisme.

What they say for the avoyding this challenge, will not hold water: while they tell us that they are not Separatists, because they avow the Church of *England* to be a true and gracious Church; That the Ministry of it, is true and saving. They should consider that the *Brownists*, when the fit of charity cometh upon them, say large as much as all this, as before from their owne words we have thown (*k*): also that some of the *Independent* Party have gone as far as that, which they confess makes the *Brownists* to be justly called Schismaticks (*l*); but howeverr, suppose their allegation were true, it doth not excuse and diminish but much increase the fault of their separation; For it is a greater sin to depart from a Church which I professe to be true, and whose Ministry I acknowledge to be saving, then from a Church which I conceive to be false, and whose Ministers I take to have no calling from God, nor any blessing from his hand.

They refuse all Church communion and membership in all the Reformed Churches; they preach and pray in them as they would do among pagans; only as gifted men to gather new churches

Neither are they cleared from the blot of Schisme by their countenancing the English Assemblies, by their preaching and praying therein: for beside that they do no more in this then Mr. *Robinson* hath taught them (*m*); They should remember they teach their Scholars, that Preaching, Prayer, Psalmes, and all things they doe in the *English* Congregation, are no acts of Church Fellowship (*n*): that none of them doth import any Church Membership, nor any Ecclesiastick Communion: but are such which without scruple they can dispence to very Pagans.

But we would intreat them to declare if they would be willing to receive any Sacrament in the English Congregations, or if they will be content to be under any part of their Discipline, if they will be either Mebers or Officers in any of our Churches.

I see indeed the Apologists professe their participation of Baptism in our Congregations; but besides that, the *Brownists* will professe so much of themselves (*o*); yet how this is consistent with the constant practise and Doctrine of the *Independents*, I confesse my understanding is too blunt to conceive.

For

For however in *New-England*, they give the right hand of Fellowship to the *Brownists* Congregations (*p*): and at *London* they are said to go to the *Brownists* Sacraments (*q*): and we did never heare that either in *England* or *Holland*, they refused any to be a Member for their beliefe of rigid separation, or Anabaptisme; nor censured any of their Members for falling into these errours: yet in formall termes, they do deny the most gracious of their Brethren to live beside them in *New-England* in the *Presbyteriall* way of the old Non-conformists (*r*): yea, in Print they avow, that whoever refuseth their Tenet of *Independency*, were they otherwise never so Orthodox and pious, they ought not to be admitted to the Sacraments, nor enjoy any Church Priviledge (*s*): as people who cannot be wholly, but at most are in part only converted: Yea, as such who must be taken for Anti-christian spirits, for enemies to Christ and his Kingdome (*t*): neither have I heard that any of them now for many yeares have either celebrated to others or received themselves the Sacraments in any English Church.

And when it was propounded that they might take charge in some of the best Reformed Congregations of *England*: with a full assurance of a personall dispensation to them for their whole life, if they would leave but that one intollerable Tenet of Separation; to this day they have disregarded that kind and brotherly Accommodation; shewing expressly that in this point of separate Congregations they would be tolerated, or nothing else would satisfie their consciences; beyond this their best friends were not able by their long and earnest endeavours for divers weekes together to draw them one haires-breadth (*w*): if this be not a more cleare and a more inexcusable Separation then was ever yet laid to the charge of any *Brownists*, I profesle my utter mistake of the nature of Schisme, and desire to be rectified.

About the matter of the Church and qualification of members, they are large as strict as the *Brownists*, admitting none but who convinces the whole Congregation of their reall regeneration.

The next singularity of the *Brownists*, their Doctrine of the constitution of the Church in matter and forme, the *Independents* have borrowed to the full; and not only enlarged it, but when all other grounds faile, upon this alone they build the necessity of their Separation.

Concerning the matter of the Church, the *Independents* have learned all their unjust scrupulocity from the other; as the *Brownists* require every Church-member to be a Saint, really regenerate